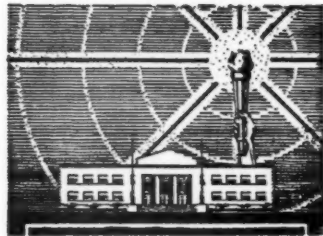


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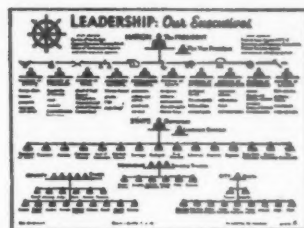
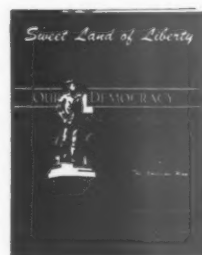


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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLIV, NUMBER 8

DECEMBER, 1953

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EDITORIAL AND BUSINESS OFFICE: 809-811 North 19th Street, Philadelphia 30, Pa.
Subscription \$3.50 a year, single numbers 50 cents a copy.

Published monthly, from October to May inclusive, by McKinley Publishing Co., 809-811 North 19th St., Philadelphia, Pa.

Copyright, 1953, McKinley Publishing Co. Entered as second-class matter, October 26, 1909, at Post Office at Philadelphia, Pa., under Act of March 3, 1879

As the Editor Sees It

Writing on the eve of Election Day naturally causes one to think about some of the aspects of our political system. This is an off year—neither a President nor members of Congress are to be chosen. Therefore the balloting will be light. It will be light because the elections lack the glamor and press-agentry of those when national officials are to be elected. Yet it is quite possible that the voting may have just as important effects on just as many people as though this were a Presidential year. There are governors, state legislators and mayors to be voted on. The results of many of these choices will affect the lives and well-being of millions of people very closely, yet probably only a minority will bother to vote. Why is this?

It is customary to attribute non-voting to apathy—to say that the absentees don't care. We say that they are too lazy to vote, or too occupied with the daily routine, and criticize them for it. But one wonders if there may not be another aspect to it. Might it not sometimes be possible that the stay-at-home voter is more honest with himself than some who vote? May it not be that he is merely expressing his disapproval of all the choices offered him on the ballot? Let us suppose that a mayor is to be elected in a large city. Each of the major parties has nominated a candidate through the usual political methods. Neither of them is particularly well known to the man in the street. As the campaign progresses he learns that one candidate is being tagged as the puppet of a notorious boss, and the other has had some odd friendships with racketeers. Neither is accused of being personally dishonest, but the voter feels a distinct lack of enthusiasm for either of them as the Chief Executive of his city. What should he do? Vote his usual party ticket and hope for the best?

Vote for the less objectionable of the two? Or refuse to vote at all, and so register a silent protest against them both? The latter would seem to be the honest course, but it will not be interpreted that way. He will be included among those too disinterested to vote, and his protest will be unheard. If he votes, his ballot will be regarded as an endorsement of the party and candidate, and will merely strengthen the hand of the party leaders.

It may be said, of course, that the unpleasant dilemma should have been avoided in the primaries. But in a large city or a state, the primary choices are frequently restricted to organization men also. It is perfectly possible that a conscientious voter will be balked there too. It might be an interesting experiment to provide on a ballot an extra column which could be marked by a voter who wished to register his disapproval of all the candidates. While it would have no effect on the current election, it might have several good results. It would permit the thinking voter to go to the polls and register his protest, thus still fulfilling his duty of suffrage. A heavy protest vote would have an unmistakable meaning, which political leaders could scarcely ignore. And it would help eliminate the fuzzy thinking that assumes that because the voters vote for the Democratic candidate for mayor, they are really expressing their disapproval of the Republican administration in Washington. Many of them may really prefer the Democratic set-up for their city, or they may just consider the Democratic mayoralty candidate as the lesser of two evils and must either vote for him or stay away from the polls. A protest column on the ballot would make it clear what the voter was really thinking, and might help to eliminate the charge that American voters are simply apathetic.

The Social Studies

VOLUME XLIV, NUMBER 8

DECEMBER, 1953

German Settlements In British North America Before the French and Indian War

GLENN WEAVER

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Germany of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries consisted of little more than a weak confederation of small, mostly landlocked, semi-independent principalities. Lacking unification, without funds, and suffering from the ravages of many wars, the German states were not in a position to engage in colonization. The fact that German overseas imperialism as an official activity of the principalities was non-existent did not discourage an unofficial interest in navigation and kindred sciences on the part of many Germans, nor did it prevent them as individuals from migrating to the New World.

There is reason to believe that at least one German accompanied Lief Erickson on his expedition to Wineland and that Hessian and Alsatian Protestants were among the Huguenot settlers, who under Jean Ribault, settled at Port Royal in 1562, in what is now South Carolina.¹ These two expeditions had no permanent effect on the history of the New World, but in 1607 German and Polish laborers were to be found at Jamestown where, in contrast to the English "gentlemen," they won the praise of Captain John Smith because of their industrious habits. In New Amsterdam, Peter Minuit, a Protestant from Wesel on the Rhine, as first governor of the Dutch colony, laid the foundation for what became the British colony of New York. Also among the inhabitants of early New Amsterdam were Dr. Hans Kierstede, a physician from Magdeburg, and a considerable number of Germans of a more humble sort.² In Maryland there were scattered Ger-

man settlements as early as 1660,³ and in South Carolina there was probably a considerable number of German inhabitants by 1674.⁴ These settlements, however, remained small and can be considered only as forerunners of the important German immigrations of the early eighteenth century.

In 1677 William Penn made his second visit to Germany, a visit which coincided with the high point in the "awakening" movement among the German Pietists.⁵ During the course of this visit Penn met members of many of the persecuted sects as well as adherents to the Lutheran and Reformed faiths. Among the persons visited was Francis Daniel Pastorius, who was well-known for his high intellectual attainments and for his position of leadership among the Mennonites of the Rhine region. The contacts thus established paved the way for the Mennonite migrations to Pennsylvania during the next decades, for in 1683 Pastorius and a small band of Mennonites arrived in the newly-laid-out city of Philadelphia, soon to be followed by a second group of thirteen families. Pastorius and his followers did not long remain in Philadelphia but located six miles north of the city where they founded the village of Germantown.⁷ To this haven of refuge, seeking to escape the persecutions of the German state churches—Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed—sectarians came in increasing numbers.

In 1707 the French army devastated a great area on the left bank of the Rhine, particularly

the region known as the Palatinate. So complete was the destruction that the once fertile valley was reduced to a barren wasteland, and the inhabitants who escaped with their lives were rendered homeless. Thousands of these Palatines wandered blindly northward to Holland, and through the aid of German, Dutch, and English charities, a number of these Germans—perhaps as many as thirty-two thousand⁸—were enabled to go to England where Queen Anne generously allowed each Palatine 9d a day for his support.⁹ In 1708 many of these refugees, having become a burden to the English, were sent to the New World, some to New York where they were settled on the frontier along the Hudson northward from the mouth of the Quassaic and where they were to serve a twofold purpose of producing naval stores and acting as a buffer against the Indians.¹⁰ The following year a body of Palatines was sent to North Carolina, where permanent German settlements in that region were begun at New Bern.¹¹ Thus, to these three principal centers came thousands of German and Swiss immigrants, all being of the same general racial stock and most of them speaking the dialect of the Palatinate, which gradually took on many English words and in Pennsylvania became known as "Pennsylvania Dutch."¹²

In particular the Germans concentrated in Pennsylvania. Because of widespread advertising on the part of ship owners who reaped bountiful harvests from their passage money, poor Palatines were enticed to the colony by promises of quick riches. "Wanderlust," too, played its part in attracting these people to Pennsylvania, for the land seemed to offer all sorts of adventures to those who would but cross the ocean.¹³ Finally, the rulers of the many Rhineland principalities had levied excessive taxes upon their subjects so that the courts of the German princes might be patterned on the lavish scale of that of Louis XIV at Versailles.¹⁴ Thus, the devastations wrought by war, religious uncertainty, land hunger, the desire for adventure, attractive advertising, and the colonial policy of the British government all worked together to make the Rhineland and the German-speaking cantons of Switzerland a major recruiting ground for European emigration to America.¹⁵

By 1754 German-speaking people were to be found in considerable numbers at many places from Nova Scotia to Georgia. In 1752 a number of Germans, along with a few French and Scotch Protestants,¹⁶ had settled at Lunenburg in Nova Scotia. These settlers included many who were described by Governor Hopson in a letter to the Board of Trade as "poor, old decrepit creatures."¹⁷ The following year (1753) the English government stopped all immigration into Nova Scotia because it was felt that the land was too poor to support a large number of inhabitants. The result was a diverting of German immigration to the colonies to the south.¹⁸ In spite of the cold climate and sterile soil the colony prospered and continued its peculiarly German community existence until well into the nineteenth century.¹⁹

In what is now the state of Maine (in 1754 part of the colony of Massachusetts) a German colony had been begun in 1739 and 1740 when a number of German families from Saxony and Brunswick settled on the Madomak River.²⁰ Because the settlers would not engage in fishing to earn their livelihoods but preferred to wrest a miserable living from the barren soil, the colony failed to prosper.²¹ In 1745 a German contingent from this settlement accompanied the force of William Pepperrell on an expedition against Louisbourg, the French stronghold on Nova Scotia. During the absence of most of the able-bodied men, the chief town (known as Waldoboro) was completely destroyed by the Indians,²² but the town was rebuilt in 1748 and new German families (perhaps as many as 1500 people in all) were induced to locate there, thereby revitalizing the community which thereafter enjoyed a new prosperity.²³

In 1747 the General Court of Massachusetts set aside four townships for the accommodation of "foreign Protestants." Two of these townships were in what is now the state of Maine, and two were in the extreme northwestern part, near Fort Massachusetts and west of the Connecticut River extending into the territory now a part of Vermont. A small band of Germans located on one of the western tracts in 1753, and four years later (1757) twenty or thirty German families settled in the eastern

townships twelve or fifteen miles west of Waldoboro on the Kennebec River.²⁴

In New York there were two centers of German settlement: New York City²⁵ and the Hudson-Mohawk Valley. Three thousand Germans had been sent to New York and located about 55 miles north of New York City at Livingston Manor in 1709 and 1710.²⁶ The plan to have these Palatines produce naval stores proved to be a failure and English support of the colony was therefore withdrawn in 1712.²⁷ Having been forced to shift for themselves, many of them migrated westward to Schoharie and purchased land from the Indians. This, however, proved to be an unhappy situation and these wandering people were once again rendered homeless, for their "purchased land" on which they were thus happily living was sold by a proprietor who actually held this land through a grant made by Governor Hunter.²⁸ When the new governor, Burnet, suggested that they be located on free lands on the Mohawk where they would furnish defense for the frontier, some of these Palatines accepted this land;²⁹ about three hundred of them remained to work for the new landlord;³⁰ and others (one group in 1723, a second in 1725, and another in 1729) migrated to Pennsylvania by way of the valley of the North Branch of the Susquehanna.³¹ Because of this unfair treatment afforded the Palatines in New York, most of the later immigrants avoided this colony and, instead, sought their abode in Pennsylvania.³²

The territory between the Passaic and Raritan Rivers in New Jersey was settled by colonists from Germany in 1713,³³ and by 1754 the northern part of this colony (particularly Bergen and Hunterdon Counties) and the present Salem County to the south of Philadelphia were centers of German population.³⁴

In Pennsylvania, the principal colony of German concentration, the immigrants, from their early centers in Philadelphia County, spread northward and westward to the present counties of Lehigh, Northampton, Monroe, Lebanon, and Dauphin. In this region, lying for the most part southeast of the Blue Mountains, the Germans formed the dominant element in the population. However, by 1754 many German families had crossed the Susque-

hanna and had taken up homes in the present York, Cumberland, and Adams Counties. Indeed, it was from this area west of the Susquehanna that the more important migrations of Germans moved southward and westward to Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and later to Kentucky and Tennessee.³⁵

This southward and westward movement from Pennsylvania began shortly after 1730. The earliest groups (such as that under Joist Hite which moved southward from York in 1732)³⁶ passed Maryland by to settle in the Valley of Virginia. By 1748, however, Germans from Pennsylvania had settled on the rich farmland of western Maryland along the Monocacy River and the Catoctin Creek. Prior to this (in 1735) homes had been established along the Monocacy by about one hundred families which came directly from Germany, Switzerland, and France. This community was headed by the Schley family, the younger members of which soon moved to Baltimore where they became leaders in the commercial life of the city.³⁷ While a majority of these settlers—particularly in the western part of the colony—became prosperous landowners,³⁸ a considerable number swelled the ranks of a rapidly growing tenant class.³⁹ This was especially true after the middle of the century when a large number of Palatines came to the colony as indentured servants.⁴⁰ In Maryland, as in Pennsylvania, the German settlements were chiefly on the frontier; for example, the two westernmost communities: Conogocheaque and Hagerstown.

Germanna, a new fortified haven at the falls of the Rappahannock, was laid out when in the spring of 1714 Governor Spotswood brought a number of Germans to Virginia to operate the iron and silver mines and to serve as a barrier against the Indians.⁴¹ After a three years sojourn there, the settlers became dissatisfied,⁴² and about seventy of them moved westward to "excellent Land among ye little Mountains."⁴³ Into Virginia's fertile Shenandoah Valley came Germans from Pennsylvania settling in the present counties of Augusta, Rockbridge, Botetourt, Roanoke, Craig, Montgomery, Pulaski, and Wythe.⁴⁴

In 1710 the Indians attacked the German settlement at New Bern in North Carolina and

massacred sixty or more of the settlement's inhabitants. Despite this misfortune, however, the colony grew until by the middle of the century Germans from this region had moved into the present Craven, Jones, Onslow, and Duplin Counties.⁴⁵ In 1753 a group of German Moravians began an important settlement on the "Wachovia Tract," or much of the present Forsythe County.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, the southward migrations from Pennsylvania had brought Germans to the banks of the Yadkin River. The earliest of these "Rhinelanders on the Yadkin" probably arrived about 1747, but the larger number of these North Carolina Germans entered the region between 1750 and 1775. From the Yadkin region these settlers moved westward to the Catawba River, where they were to be found in numbers comparable to the Scotch-Irish, many of whom had also migrated southward from Pennsylvania.⁴⁷

The important German settlements in South Carolina date from 1732, when Purrysburg, in what is now Beaufort County and thirty miles from the coast, was laid out by John Peter Purry of Neufchatel.⁴⁸ To this colony in 1735 also came a large body of German emigrants who settled at Orangeburg which they named for the Prince of Orange. The colony was reinforced by later German emigration; hence, the name of "Orange" was subsequently applied to the entire district along the frontier of South Carolina. The towns of Orangeburg, Amelia, Saxe Gotha, and Fredricksburg were, by the middle of the century, largely inhabited by German Protestants. Westward from these communities the overflow of the German population passed into the territory now known as Richland, Fairfield, Newberry, Chesterfield, and Lancaster Counties.⁴⁹ During the administration of Governor James Glen (1743-1756) serious efforts were made to induce Protestants in large numbers from the continent to settle in the colony. Agents were sent to Germany and Switzerland to secure immigrants, and a premium of one shilling was offered to these agents for each settler brought into the colony. As an inducement to the immigrants themselves, a sum of six pounds proclamation money was offered to those between two and twelve years of age. Those who should take up land on the frontier were offered additional bonuses if they

held their land for a period of three years. It was further provided that the settlers should be tax exempt for a period of ten years. While the agents were successful in interesting about 3,000 Germans in migrating to America, a competing agent from Pennsylvania persuaded a great number of these recruits to go to the latter colony. Others went to Georgia rather than to South Carolina. Consequently, the plan resulted in the settlement in South Carolina of but about six hundred of the entire number.⁵⁰

On October 12, 1732 the Society for the Propagation of the Christian Knowledge petitioned the trustees of the colony of Georgia, requesting that this colony should be opened as a place of refuge for "the persecuted Salzburgers." The petition was favorably received by the trustees, and in December of the same year an invitation was sent to fifty Salzburger families at Bertholdsgaden which offered free lands in the colony. The Society further offered to support a pastor and a catechist, while Parliament and private agencies in England agreed to pay the passage money. In March of 1734 the group arrived in the port of Savannah, and the newcomers soon were located, at their own request, about thirty miles inland where the town of Ebenezer was begun.⁵¹ The following year this community was enlarged by the arrival of a second band of Salzburgers.⁵²

In 1736 what was known as the "Great Embarkation" brought people of a variety of nationalities and religious persuasions to Georgia. Among the emigrés were a score of Moravians (including Bishop Nitschmann).⁵³ As the Moravians soon migrated to Pennsylvania,⁵⁴ there was only a slight strengthening of the German population of the colony. Many of these later German arrivals settled about the fort at Frederica.⁵⁵

The Salzburgers who had settled at Ebenezer soon became dissatisfied with the unhealthy site at which the town had been placed and with the poor condition of the soil. Consequently, upon a petition by the inhabitants, the town was relocated six miles to the east at what was then called the "Red Mount," while the land of the original site of the town was returned to the trustees of the colony who transformed it into a stock farm.⁵⁶ The Germans were located in Georgia on the frontier,

to provide a barrier not only against the Indians (as in South Carolina) but also against the Spanish to the south.

From the foregoing statements it can be seen that along the frontier line from Nova Scotia to Georgia, the Germans occupied the farthest line of settlement at the greatest number of places; however, in such colonies as Pennsylvania (west of the Susquehanna), Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina they shared the frontier with the Scotch-Irish.⁵⁷

While the location of the German settlements was largely a matter of necessity—the Germans being poor and, therefore, obliged to seek the cheaper lands of the unsettled frontier—they, nevertheless, came into possession of the most fertile farmland in the colonies: the great limestone area running northeast to southwest including the Mohawk and Shenandoah Valleys, the middle section of Pennsylvania (the “granary” of the colonies), and the finest uplands of North and South Carolina.⁵⁸

Any estimate as to the number of Germans in the colonies by 1754 would be purely a matter of conjecture. Even for the colony of Pennsylvania the number can only be estimated. James Logan in 1741 stated that the Germans constituted two-thirds of the entire population of that colony,⁵⁹ and in 1747 Governor Thomas of Pennsylvania wrote to the Bishop of Exeter calculating the number of Germans at three-fifths of the 200,000 whites living there.⁶⁰ “A Memorial of the case of the German Emigrants settled in the British colonies of Pennsylvania and the Back Parts of Maryland, Virginia, etc.,” published in London in 1754 stated that

“In the single colony of Pennsylvania the inhabitants, exclusive of the Indian natives, are reckoned to be about one hundred and ninety thousand; amongst these are above one hundred thousand Germans. . . .”⁶¹

William Smith in 1755 judged that one-half of the population of the colony was German.⁶²

Granting the above figures represent simply an estimate, any other calculations which may be made as to the number of Germans in the other colonies would be perhaps even less trustworthy. In Nova Scotia they numbered between 1,500 and 2,400, most of whom were located either in or near Lunenburg, with a smaller

number at Halifax.⁶³ The German population of the colony of Massachusetts was quite negligible and it seems that there were no inhabitants of this race to be found either in Rhode Island or Connecticut. New York, New Jersey and Maryland had perhaps between fifteen and twenty thousand each. It is said that in the latter colony, during the six years prior to 1754, no less than 2,800 Germans arrived, most of whom settled in Baltimore where by 1754 they comprised nearly the entire population of the city.⁶⁴ In Delaware what few Germans may have accompanied the early Dutch and Swedes were soon absorbed by the larger groups and therefore lost their identity. Virginia had about 25,000, while North Carolina and South Carolina had about 8,000 and 15,000 respectively. Georgia had probably something less than five thousand. Faust⁶⁵ estimates that the German population of the colonies from Massachusetts (including Maine) to Georgia was about one-tenth of the total population.

From the earliest days of their settlements, the Germans were a “separate people.” Even in their religion they had few contacts with their English-speaking neighbors and remained loyal to the faiths of their homeland. So far as their religious affiliations were concerned, they fell into two categories: the “church” people and the “sect” people. The former consisted of the members of the Reformed, Lutheran, and Roman Catholic congregations and were known as “Church” people because their particular communions were legally sanctioned by the government of their homeland. The latter consisted of the Moravians, Mennonites, Dunkers, Amish, Schwenkfelders, and such other groups as were not officially recognized by the German governments. Certain writers, however, include the Moravians among the “Church” people rather than among the “sect” people as, at this particular time, this group agreed with both the Lutheran and Reformed in the essentials of their doctrine and because they preferred to be regarded as simply a missionary brotherhood rather than as a separate ecclesiastical body.⁶⁶

Language, too, served as a barrier which isolated the Germans from the English-speaking inhabitants of British North America, and

because of this they were both misunderstood and maligned by the English. Prominent colonists such as Benjamin Franklin spared few words in denouncing the Germans for their boorishness and stupidity.⁶⁷

Other than those living in Philadelphia, Germantown, Baltimore, Charleston, and several small inland towns, the majority of the Germans were farmers. There were, however, to be found among them workers at such professions, crafts, and trades as were necessary in an agricultural society: weavers, millers, pastors, and teachers. In Germantown a number of Germans were employed in the manufacture of paper, and at Manheim, Pennsylvania, "Baron" Stiegel also employed a considerable number in the production of iron products.⁶⁸

Despite their humble occupations and despite popular misconceptions to the contrary, the colonial Germans were neither illiterate nor disinterested in education. While it is true that they could not read English and had little interest in English education, schoolmasters as well as pastors came with the early settlers, and most of the Lutheran and Reformed congregations had parochial schools which were conducted in the German language for the children of the parish.⁶⁹ The Moravians had boarding schools in Bethlehem and Nazareth, Pennsylvania.⁷⁰ Among the Mennonites and other "plain sects," education, it is true, beyond the most elementary level was held in low regard. Nevertheless, it is estimated that seventy per cent of the German male immigrants to Pennsylvania were able to read and write⁷¹—an average probably as high as that of any other national stock in the colonies. In the period from 1751 to the outbreak of the American Revolution eighty-five per cent of the German immigrants to Pennsylvania were able to sign their names in the ship's registry.

In 1753 "A Society for the Propagating of the Knowledge of God among the Germans" was organized in England for the purpose of establishing English schools among the Germans of Pennsylvania. This system of "Charity Schools" was placed under the supervision of the Rev. Michael Schlatter, a German Reformed clergyman. While it was hoped that the twenty-five schools which were to comprise the system

(only half that number were actually opened) would "Anglicize" the Germans and wean them away from any pro-French sympathies they might hold, the schools were not supported by the Germans and were even openly opposed so that by 1760 the last of the "Charity Schools" had gone out of existence.⁷²

Germantown was the "German capital" and cultural center, and for many years it remained an almost purely German community.⁷³ Here in 1738 Christopher Sauer established his printing shop, and from the Sauer press came German periodicals and about one hundred and fifty books and pamphlets—a body of literature which had a tremendous influence upon the political attitudes of the Germans in America. Sauer's competitor, Joseph Crell of Philadelphia, also began a short-lived German paper in 1743.⁷⁴

Most of the German literature produced in the colonies prior to 1754 was of a religious nature, taking the forms of sermons, doctrinal polemics, devotional material, and reprints of the Bible and European theological works.⁷⁵

Likewise, the German passion for music found expression in the religious life. At Ephrata, Pennsylvania, the monks chanted the weirdly-harmonized hymns which were composed by the Brethren.⁷⁶ In such Moravian communities as Nazareth and Bethlehem in Pennsylvania and Bethabara in North Carolina, instrumental music was used in the religious services and bands of trumpeters preceded the workers on their way to the fields.⁷⁷ Among his retainers at Manheim, "Baron" Stiegel maintained a band of musicians who greeted his guests, provided dinner music, and enlivened the "Baron's" many public functions.⁷⁸ These examples, however, were rare exceptions, for the majority of the Germans were content to sing chorales from the hymn books which they had brought with them from their Old World homes. Organs were to be found in several of the larger and more prosperous German churches, such as the Lutheran Church in Philadelphia (St. Michael's). Gottlieb Mittleberger reported in 1754 that there were six of these instruments in the colony of Pennsylvania, all, oddly enough, in German communities: Philadelphia, Germantown, Providence, New Hanover, Tulpehocken, and Lancaster.⁷⁹

Mittleberger failed, however, to mention the organ at Bethlehem which had been installed in 1746 at a cost of £40.⁸⁰

In the field of the visual arts the eighteenth century German-Americans were producing stove plates decorated with crude biblical scenes and the brilliantly illuminated marriage and baptismal certificates known as *Frakturschriften*. Birds, tulips, lilies, angels, and purely geometric designs were applied in brilliant shades of red, yellow, blue, and green upon the various articles of furniture to be found in the German farmhouses.⁸¹

Franklin, who had little good to say for the Germans, reported in 1753 that the Germans of Pennsylvania imported many books from Germany; that of the six printing houses in the province two were entirely German and two "half-German"; that there was one German and one half-German newspaper; that the signs in the streets of Philadelphia had inscriptions in both English and German, and in some places only the latter; also, that the authorities had begun to permit the Germans to draw up legal instruments in their own language.⁸² Thus it may be seen that by 1754 the unassuming German—of Pennsylvania, at least—while still being regarded with suspicion and perhaps disdain, was coming into his own.

1 Albert Bernhardt Faust, *The German Element in the United States* (2 vols., New York, c. 1909), I, 4-7.

2 *Ibid.*, I, 10, 26.

3 *Ibid.*, I, 161.

4 *Ibid.*, I, 215.

5 James Truslow Adams, *Provincial Society 1690-1763* [A History of American Life, vol. 3], (New York, 1923), p. 6.

6 Walter Allen Knittle, *Early Eighteenth Century Palatine Emigration* (Philadelphia, c. 1937), p. 19.

7 Naaman H. Keyser, et al., *History of Old Germantown* (Philadelphia, 1907), pp. 28-43.

8 Knittle, op. cit., pp. 1-3.

9 Charles P. Keith, *Chronicles of Pennsylvania* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1917), II, 534.

10 Knittle, op. cit., p. 40.

11 *Ibid.*, p. 98.

12 Carl Wittke, *We Who Built America* (New York, 1939), pp. 90-91.

13 Oscar Kuhns, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania: A Study of the So-Called Pennsylvania Dutch* (New York, 1901), pp. 25-28.

14 Knittle, op. cit., p. 5.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 31.

16 Lawrence Henry Gipson, *The British Empire before the American Revolution* (New York, 1942), V, 200; Faust, op. cit., I, 256.

17 Gipson, op. cit., V, 201.

18 Faust, op. cit., I, 258. The Germans at Lunenburg were recruited largely from Halifax from which place the German population of several hundred persons was almost completely removed. George S. Brown, *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia* (Boston: Rand Avery Company, 1888), p. 127. See also J. I. Cooper, "The Germans in Nova Scotia," *The American-German Review*, XVI (February, 1950), 22.

19 Joseph Henry Dubbs, *Historic Manual of the Reformed Church in the United States* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania, 1885), p. 208.

20 The Rev. ——— Starman, "Some Account of the German Settlement in Waldoborough," *Collections of the Maine Historical Society*, V, 1857, 403.

21 Cyrus Eaton, *Annals of the Town of Warren* (Hallowell, 1851), p. 61.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 67.

23 Starman, op. cit., V, 403-404.

24 Faust, op. cit., I, 253-256.

25 Henry Melchior Muhlenberg in his *Journal* translated by G. Tappert and John W. Doberstein (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1942) makes many references to the Germans of this city and its environs, I, 253, et passim.

26 Knittle, op. cit., pp. 35-40.

27 *Ibid.*, pp. 184-185.

28 This is one of the few instances where German settlers in British North America had been victimized by the British authorities.

29 Knittle, op. cit., pp. 193-205.

30 Adams, op. cit., pp. 179-188.

31 Knittle, op. cit., p. 207.

32 Cheesman A. Herrick, *White Servitude in Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey, 1926), p. 25.

33 Lucy Forney Bittinger, *The Germans in Colonial Times* (Philadelphia: F. B. Lippincott Company, 1901), p. 53.

34 Edmund J. Wolf, *The Lutherans in America* (New York, 1889), p. 209; Bittinger, op. cit., pp. 55-56.

35 Faust, op. cit., I, 129.

36 J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (Philadelphia, 1882), I, 58.

37 *Ibid.*, I, 61.

38 *Ibid.*, I, 69.

39 Adams, op. cit., p. 167.

40 Herrick, op. cit., p. 22.

41 Leonidas Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood Governor of Colonial Virginia 1710-1722* (Philadelphia, 1932), pp. 131-132.

42 *Ibid.*, p. 278.

43 *Ibid.*, p. 280.

44 John Walter Wayland, "The Germans in the Valley of Virginia," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, X, 1903, 38.

45 Knittle, op. cit., pp. 104-110.

46 *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Adelaide L. Fries, ed., (3 vols., Raleigh, 1922), I, 5 et seq.

47 Carl Hammer, Jr., *Rhinelanders on the Yadkin* (Salisbury, North Carolina: Rowan Printing Company, 1943), pp. 26-27.

48 Dubbs, *Manual*, p. 211.

49 Bittinger, op. cit., pp. 124-128.

50 Gipson, op. cit., II, 178-179.

51 William Bacon Stevens, *A History of Georgia* (2 vols., New York, 1847), I, 105-113.

52 Hugh McCall, *The History of Georgia* (2 vols., Savannah, 1811), I, 50.

53 Bittinger, op. cit., p. 146.

54 Jacob John Sessler, *Communal Pietism Among the Early American Moravians* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, c. 1933), pp. 72-73.

55 Bittinger, op. cit., p. 147.

56 William J. Mann, *Life and Times of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg* (Philadelphia: G. W. Fredrick, 1888), pp. 70-71; Bittinger, op. cit., pp. 147-148; Pat. Talifer, et al., *A True and Historical Narrative of the Colony of Georgia, in America* (Charleston, South Carolina, 1741) [Tracts and Other Papers collected by Peter Force, Washington: Peter Force], vol. I, (1836), p. 72.

57 Faust, op. cit., I, 266-267.

58 *Ibid.*, I, 265-266.

59 Arthur D. Graeff, "Relations Between the Pennsylvania Germans and the British Authorities (1750-1776)," *Pennsylvania German Society*, XLVII, 1939, p. 20, quoting Logan MSS. Pennsylvania Historical Society in a letter to the Quakers.

60 J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Western Maryland* (2 vols., Philadelphia, 1882), I, 367.

61 *Ibid.*, I, 63.

62 William Smith, *A Brief State of the Province of Pennsylvania*, [Sabin Reprints], (New York: Joseph Sabin, 1865), p. 10.

63 George S. Brown, *Yarmouth, Nova Scotia*, pp. 127-128; Duncan Campbell, *Nova Scotia in its Historical, Mercantile, and Industrial Relations* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1873), p. 112; J. I. Cooper, op. cit., p. 22.

64 Eugene Irving McCormac, *White Servitude in Maryland 1684-1820* [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science, Series XXII, nos. 3-4] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1904), pp. 113-224, p. 144.

65 Faust, op. cit., I, 285.

66 Joseph Henry Dubbs, "The Founding of the German Churches of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XVII (1893), 241.

67 Franklin to Collins (and Jackson?), Philadelphia, May 9, 1753 in Carl Van Doren, ed., *Letters and Papers of Benjamin Franklin and Richard Jackson* (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, 1947), pp. 33-40, p. 38. Hereafter referred to as Van Doren, *Franklin-Jackson Correspondence*.

68 Faust, op. cit., I, 139-147; Richard M. Shryock, "British Versus German Tradition in Colonial Agriculture," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, XXVI (June, 1939), pp. 39-54 gives an excellent account of German agricultural methods.

69 Minutes and Letters of the Cetus of the German Reformed Congregations in Pennsylvania 1747-1792 (Philadelphia, 1906), p. 6, passim.

70 Faust, op. cit., I, 127.

71 S. E. Weber, "The Germans and the Charity-School Movement," *The Pennsylvania-German*, VIII (July, 1907), p. 306.

72 Graeff, op. cit., pp. 33-46; Samuel E. Weber, *The Charity School Movement in Colonial Pennsylvania* (Pennsylvania: G. F. Lasher [1906]), passim.

73 Earl F. Robacker, *Pennsylvania German Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1943), p. 16.

74 Faust, *op. cit.*, I, 143-146.

75 Robacker, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-37.

76 Walter C. Klein, *Johann Conrad Beissel* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1942), p. 164.

77 Sessler, *op. cit.*, p. 104; *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, I, 249.

78 Faust, *op. cit.*, I, 142.

79 Gottlieb Mittleberger, *Journey to Pennsylvania* (Translated by Carl Thomas Eben) (Philadelphia: John Joseph McVey, 1898), pp. 114-116.

80 John W. Jordan, "Early Colonial Organ-BUILDER of Pennsylvania," *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, XXII, 1898, 231.

81 Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-93; Thomas Jefferson Wertebaker, *The Founding of American Civilization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), pp. 256-345 is one of the most complete and readable descriptions of the culture of the Germans of the middle colonies.

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The United States Policy In the Far East

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A century and a half ago Napoleon Bonaparte with a characteristic flash of intuition remarked of China: "There lies a sleeping giant. Let him sleep; for when he wakes he will move the world." In retrospect, powerful men often take on greatness, and their pronouncements seem to have a special significance that is not apparent to their own generation. Today few would doubt the veracity of the chance remark of the Little Corsican.

The foreign policy of any country does not operate in a vacuum nor do the relations between any two countries solely concern those two nations. In discussing United States policy in the Far East, then, it is necessary to discuss the actions of other states in the same region. Obviously this makes the subject very broad, one that can only be sketched in an article. I propose to mention the foundations of our policy in the Far East and to ignore entirely the events of the past two decades.

It is well to keep in mind that the President of the United States is responsible for the conduct of our foreign policy; he appoints the diplomatic officials; he authorizes the negotiation of treaties. The Constitution gives the Senate a check on the President in that the Senate must agree to a treaty before it can be ratified by the executive. The Senate also has the power to confirm or reject the appointment of our diplomatic agents. The House of Representatives, too, is able to influence policy through its power to appropriate money. Diplomatic officials can be appointed, but they can hardly go abroad without funds. A treaty to

purchase Alaska can be made by the President's advisor, the Secretary of State, and the Senate may approve the treaty, but the negotiation can not be concluded until the House of Representatives appropriates sufficient money to consummate the purchase. The Secretary of State, theoretically, is responsible only to the President. It is interesting to note that many of our Secretaries were very unpopular with Congress. John Hay, one of our ablest men to occupy the office, sent in his letter of resignation because he could not please the Senate in the conduct of his duties. President McKinley fortunately refused to accept the resignation. With this bit of introduction let us turn our attention to the Far East.

On August 28, 1784, the *Empress of China* dropped anchor at Whampoa, the port of Canton, through which all the maritime trade of China was funnelled. The 360 ton vessel had sailed 13,000 miles in six months in "the adventurous pursuit of commerce." The cargo valued at \$120,000 consisted of fur, raw cotton, lead, and some thirty tons of ginseng—an herb which the mandarins felt possessed almost magical powers of rejuvenation. When the trading was completed and the vessel was safely back in Boston, it was found that a net profit of \$30,000 had been realized. Captain John Green, commander of the *Empress of China*, had initiated United States commerce and United States diplomatic relations with the Celestial Empire. From that time forward the two activities (commerce and diplomacy) were to be unalterably linked in the United States'

attitude toward the Far East. Within a year after the final peace treaty which recognized the independence of our great nation, the United States gave proof to the world that we were no longer dependent on the British Empire for such products as tea and silk. In the succeeding years our vessels sailed to Whampoa in ever increasing numbers to take part in the China trade on equal terms with the great powers of Europe.

United States foreign policy in the Far East has historically centered around China. In the early years China was the great, the only, nation in the Far East with which we had extensive intercourse; in later years, when Japan became a significant factor in the area, we became preoccupied with the problem of maintaining China as a country—as a government which controlled the entire territory which fronted on ours across the mighty Pacific Ocean. The State Department White Paper of 1950 expressed this relationship in these terms: "For more than half a century the policy of the United States toward China has been based on the twin principles of (1) equality of commercial opportunity, and (2) the maintenance of the territorial and administrative integrity and political independence of China." Although our first treaty in the Far East was with Siam (in 1833), our primary concern throughout the years has been to preserve our interests and enhance our prestige with Siam's northern neighbor.

At the time of Captain Green's arrival the peoples of the East had been in continuous contact with Europeans for over two hundred years. In those two centuries Christianity had been introduced and rejected; Japan had opened and then closed her ports to commerce from the West; and China had adopted a policy whereby Westerners could trade only through Canton, such trade being the monopoly of a group of Chinese merchants known collectively as the Hong Merchants. Ambassadors to the Chinese court were not received—or even permitted to travel in China—unless they carried flags signifying that they were Tribute Bearers. This system which gave equal privileges—or lack of the same—to all nations was adhered to until the Anglo-Chinese War (Opium War) of the 1840's.

It is interesting to note some of the by-products of this early American commerce. For about thirty years, or until the end of the Napoleonic wars, Boston vessels enjoyed a near monopoly of the trade between our Pacific coast and China over the northern route. Then in the 1820's Czar Alexander I attempted to close the northern Pacific to all but Russian commerce. This was a reflection of the growing importance of the fur trade in the Columbia River region; furs were one of the few articles that China wanted. A strong note from President Monroe ended the episode in a highly satisfactory manner. Our position in the Sandwich Islands was assured by the frequent stops made at these mid-Pacific spots of land for water and sandalwood. Today the Sandwich Islands are known as the Hawaiian Islands. A third by-product was the opening of Japan to Western influences. In the first half of the nineteenth century New England whaling ships voyaged into the far reaches of the Pacific. Early in the century valuable whale fisheries were discovered south of the Kurile Islands. Whaling and other commercial vessels in distress were hostilely received when they put into Japanese ports; consequently, it was imperative that we establish friendly relations with that semi-feudal empire.

The first United States official in the Far East was Samuel Shaw, the supercargo—or business agent—of the *Empress of China*. His appointment came in 1786, and from then until 1844 our only representatives in the Far East were the businessmen appointed as United States consuls at Canton. In that fifty-year period only one incident threatened to mar our prestige in the Orient; this came in 1821 when an American sailor was judicially murdered for the accidental killing of a Chinese woman. The incident had an important bearing on our first treaty with China, negotiated in 1844. Following the expiration of the charter of the English East India Company in 1833, the British government stepped in to secure more favorable trade arrangements with the Chinese. Nothing short of war could bring this about; at the conclusion of the war China conceded Hong Kong to the British, opened five ports to unrestricted trade with the West, and agreed to pay the total cost of the war. United States

participation in the new commercial privileges was an already accomplished fact when the brilliant scholar-politician Caleb Cushing arrived with instructions from Washington to negotiate a treaty of amity and commerce with China. China was reluctant; one treaty with a Western nation was enough, but Cushing hinted that the four warships which had escorted him to the Far East could be used to prevent a "national insult"—that is the failure of China to receive an envoy from the United States.

The Treaty of Wanghia negotiated by Cushing gave the United States a most-favored nation status in the China trade—that is, any future privileges extended to other nations would be automatically given to the United States. This treaty also contained one of the earliest statements of the principle of extraterritoriality—in this case, the right of Americans accused of crimes in China to be tried before the American consul rather than in the Chinese courts. The unpleasantness of 1821, referred to previously, had dictated the advisability of this for both the Chinese and the Americans. There is no question that as conditions existed in the 1840's China would profit by making the American consul responsible for the actions of his fellow countrymen; but in subsequent years as other western nations asked for extraterritorial rights under their own most-favored nation treaties, Chinese sovereignty was severely infringed upon. As Professor Dulles has said, "The principles written into the Treaty of Wanghia remained a persistent barrier to China's attempts to recover full control of her own affairs." By compelling China to recognize the equal status of the United States and Great Britain, China was so weakened she could not resist future demands of other nations.

In the two decades following the treaty, China underwent a tremendous internal upheaval. On the surface this revolution appeared to be an attempt to overthrow the highly unpopular Manchu dynasty, but underneath there were other causes of discontent, such as the appeasement of the foreigners by the government. Christianity was also a factor, for the leader of the rebellion was ostensibly a Christian. After carefully considering the situation our consuls, Marshall and McLane, sided with

the government since such a policy would least upset our commerce and would preserve our long-range interests in the Far East. Marshall stated at this time a policy which John Hay was to advance at the end of the century: "Whenever the avarice or the ambitions of Russia or Great Britain shall tempt them to take the prizes, the fate of Asia will be sealed, and the future Chinese relations of the United States may be considered as closed for the ages unless *now* the United States shall foil the untoward result by adopting a sound policy. It is my opinion that the highest interests of the United States are involved in sustaining China—maintaining order here and engrafting on this wornout stock the healthy principles which give life and health to governments, rather than to see China become the theater of widespread anarchy, and ultimately the prey of European ambitions." The United States stand was a determining force in causing the British to modify their position which had been favorable to the rebels. In 1858 and again in 1860 the combined forces of Great Britain and France wrung new concessions from China; the United States shared in these without so much as firing a gun. A writer of the late nineteenth century facetiously said that our policy had been to "crawl behind the British guns, and come forward at the end of the war with our bills for lost dressing-gowns, pipes, slippers, and peace of mind."

Our expanding commerce with China made unfavorable contacts with Japan more frequent. Numerous complaints came to the Department of State concerning the mistreatment of shipwrecked sailors. In January of 1852 the Fillmore administration decided to send Commodore Matthew Perry with four men-of-war to negotiate a treaty with Japan. Perry arrived in July of 1853, forwarded his letters to the Emperor with an admonition to consider carefully the advantages of intercourse with the United States, and then sailed away promising to return with a larger fleet in a short while. Whether it was the sight of Perry's flagship belching a stream of black smoke or not, when Perry returned the following February negotiations proceeded smoothly. The concessions to the West made in this initial treaty were small, but Japan was open to our commerce with an assurance that our sailors would re-

ceive humane treatment. Unquestionably, the feudal system in Japan was breaking down and the power of the Shogun—representing the military—was diminishing. The very obvious object lesson of China showed what Western arms could do against a backward nation. It is interesting to note that Russia offered to cooperate with the United States in opening Japan, but Perry civilly declined as it would be “inconsistent with our policy of abstaining from all alliances with foreign powers.” An historian of the last generation suggests that Japanese distrust of Russian motives hastened the success of our negotiations. Only a few years later Russia did profit from Chinese preoccupation with Britain and France to obtain what became the Maritime Province of Russian Siberia which included the port of Vladivostok, directly across from Japan. In 1858 the very able consul-general in Japan, Townsend Harris, secured a new treaty for the United States which included such privileges as unrestricted commerce, diplomatic representation, rights of residence, religious freedom, and extraterritoriality. When Japan concluded similar treaties with the other powers, the Emperor looked to the President of the United States to act as a mediator in the disputes which arose.

Although Korea had little of importance to tempt the trader in the nineteenth century, the unfriendly disposition of the Hermit Kingdom toward Westerners spelled doom to her continued isolation. In 1871 an American naval officer tried to blow Korea open; he succeeded only in demolishing the forts. The newly rejuvenated Japan, however, was able to negotiate a treaty of commerce five years later. Another five years were to pass before the United States made such a treaty—this time without a display of force.

In all three of these countries—China, Japan, and Korea—the first contacts with the merchants, missionaries, gunners, and diplomatists representing Western civilization produced disquieting effects. All three suffered from internal struggles between the progressives—those wishing to Westernize their countries—and the conservatives who wished to return to the old days and the old ways. Western ideas and Western personalities came to play an ever larger role in the countries themselves. A

British adventurer, one Major Gordon, was employed by the government of China to lead the Imperial troops to suppress the Taiping rebellion. In Japan Americans organized a postal system while Germans taught medicine and the French reorganized the army. Korea by the end of the century became a battleground between China and Japan—the latter imbued with imperialist sentiments imported from abroad.

In his six years as United States Minister at Peking, Anson Burlingame of Massachusetts won the confidence of the Chinese government and perhaps, says Professor Bailey, “forestalled a situation that would have led to the partition of China by the European Powers.” In 1867 he resigned his commission and was immediately asked by the Chinese government to represent Peking on a mission to the principal powers. One of the results of his work for China was the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, negotiated in Washington, a treaty which guaranteed to the Chinese the right of unrestricted immigration to the United States. Since we were in the midst of a railroad building splurge and cheap labor was desired, the treaty was applauded throughout the country, even in California. By 1880 however, the initial period of rail construction was over and laboring men in the United States were organizing to protect their interests. The presence of some 75,000 Chinese in California with more coming in every year was regarded as an impossible situation. Owing to this pressure from the West, our government negotiated a new treaty with China giving the United States the right to “regulate, limit, or suspend” but not to “absolutely prohibit” the immigration of Chinese laborers. Congress subsequently enacted the Exclusion Act of 1882 which was a virtual prohibition of further immigration. The *Literary Digest* pointed out in 1900 that this act put the American missionary in China in an awkward spot—“Why is it,” asked a thoughtful Chinese, “that I may go to your heaven while I may not go to your country?” Not until December 1943 were the Chinese given a place in our quota system (105 a year) and those already in this country were permitted to become citizens.

America's historic Open Door policy came when the European powers began to seek

something more than commercial advantages in Asia. France began to encroach on Chinese territory from the south in the eighties; Great Britain annexed Burma; and Russia built a railway through Siberia as a prelude to acquiring Manchuria. Even Japan, now thoroughly westernized, marked Korea for her share. In 1894 Japan intervened in Korea, thus precipitating the Sino-Japanese War from which she easily emerged victorious. Hardly had a treaty between the two nations been signed when Germany, France, and Russia handed a friendly note to Japan suggesting that she might do well to refrain from taking any Chinese territory. Japan refrained. The three European powers then presented their bill to China for preserving her territorial integrity—nothing less than extensive railroad concessions in the interior with exclusive mining and commercial rights in the area. The powers were not disinterested bystanders; Russia, for instance, would not permit Korea to fall into Japanese hands. Ten years later (1904-1905) the Russo-Japanese War solved the question in favor of the more modern of the two countries, Japan.

This new wave of imperialism coincided with American expansion in the Pacific. In the early 1890's the United States had rejected an opportunity to annex the Hawaiian Islands; by the end of the decade the situation had changed and the Islands were ours. Historians have not been able to explain conclusively what caused this change in the American outlook. Undoubtedly the closing of the continental frontier induced many persons to consider the world situation and America's isolation. Probably some men, as did Theodore Roosevelt, sensed the destiny of the United States was that of a world power. Whatever it was, one need merely look at the record of our diplomacy in the 1890's to see that the United States was re-expressing a policy for all areas with which she came in contact. The Open Door policy of John Hay was just such a reaffirmation.

John Hay was one of our more discerning Secretaries of State; his tutelage had been excellent. He had been a private secretary of President Lincoln; he had served under William Seward, another great Secretary of State; and he had been our Ambassador to Great Britain. Viewing the world situation in 1900, Mr. Hay

remarked: "The storm center of the world has shifted . . . to China. Whoever understands that mighty Empire . . . has a key to world politics for the next five centuries." John Hay's policy, and that of the subsequent Secretaries of State, was based on the proposition that the United States must always maintain friendly relations with China. Time and again we have shown our determination not to acquire any territory at the expense of China—nor even spheres of influence, as the virtual annexations of treaty ports by the various powers were called. Today there is no reason to question that our purchase of the Philippines from Spain in 1898 was based in part on our China interests. We had no base in or near China while every other major power had. Our defensive position in the Far East could only be sustained with naval bases. Also the alternative to the purchase of the Philippines was to allow them to be taken over by Germany—a power whose motives we clearly distrusted. In the closing years of the nineteenth century, then, the United States assumed her position among the great powers of the world, a position in the Far East which she has steadfastly maintained to this very day.

The twentieth century policy has varied but little from the line laid down previously; in returning to China the indemnity from the Boxer rebellion the United States showed its high regard for that nation. Following the Russo-Japanese War the United States acted to keep Japan from exerting the same kind of pressure on China that Russia had previously used. President Theodore Roosevelt arranged the peace treaty at the end of that war, and three years later in the Root-Takahira Agreement the United States and Japan mutually agreed to maintain the *status quo* in the Pacific, to respect each others' territorial possessions in that region, to uphold the Open Door in China, and to support by pacific means the independence and integrity of China. The overthrow of the Manchu dynasty in the revolution of 1911-1912 did not materially alter this situation; in 1913 the United States extended recognition to the new government. During World War I the earlier agreement was modified somewhat; Japan made twenty-one exorbitant demands on China which would have left the larger nation a virtual pro-

tectorate of the smaller if they had been accepted. The United States intervened and in the year of our entry into the war a new *modus vivendi* was arrived at. "Territorial propinquity," read the Lansing-Ishi Agreement, "creates special relations between countries." Japan had special interests in China and the United States was ready to recognize these provided that Japan did not discriminate against other nations in regard to trade and did not impair Chinese territorial and administrative integrity.

The treaties of the 1920's merely placed on a broader basis the acknowledgments of an earlier date. The Five Power Naval Treaty of 1922 was an exception in that it reduced our power in the Pacific by curbing the construction of capital ships and prohibiting the fortifica-

tion of our outposts in that Ocean. The State Department says that "this gave evidence that the policy and purpose of the United States in the Far East was only defensive." Even this defensive policy broke down in the early 1930's when Japan began to expand with military force into Manchuria. The Stimson policy of non-recognition of territorial changes brought about by force proved ineffective when the European powers declined to exercise sanctions against Japan. In regard to the Japanese invasion Mr. Stimson later wrote: "For several centuries eastern Asia has owed its character mainly to the peaceful traditions of this great agricultural nation [i.e., China]. If the character of China should be revolutionized and through exploitation become militaristic and aggressive, not only Asia but the rest of the world must tremble."

The Touchstone of Democracy*

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Liberty

The first essential of democracy is *individual liberty*. Individual liberty, based upon the recognition of the spirituality and inherent dignity of man, consists of the elemental freedoms: freedom of thought, of conscience, of inquiry, of speech, of the press, of religion, of assemblage, and of mobility, and freedom in the arts, sciences and music.

Why should so much importance be attached to individual liberty? There are two reasons. First, only through individual liberty can a person fully realize his potential powers—only through freedom of expression can one develop himself physically, mentally, and spiritually to his fullest capacity, and thus attain the most complete satisfaction and enduring happiness. Second, individual liberty stimulates the creation and propagation of ideas. It causes discovery and invention, and thus gives society

the widest choice in the selection of plans for its own advancement. A totalitarian state stakes its future on the infallibility of a pre-conceived plan; it is not open to change.¹ Democracy may always make a choice.

Individual liberty is maintained by the constitutional recognition that each person is surrounded by an area in which the state lacks substantial power to interfere. The Bill of Rights denies the power of government to invade this sphere. In this area each person is sovereign. Individual liberty is also maintained by the state's protecting each person from unjustifiable interference by others. Individual freedom means that one should be free to do what he wants to do, but not free to do what he wants to do to others. Consequently, though there can be few limitations upon thought and expression, there must be restraint upon action which would curtail thought and expression. Restraint upon action is imposed primarily by law, but also by custom. The criminal law protects the individual in the exercise of his freedom and in the use of his property. Among its rules are those which pro-

* The ideas advanced in this article have been elaborated upon in the author's book *The Design of Democracy* (1946) and treated in part in his article "Democracy—What Is It?" published in *Opinion and Comment* August 1948.

vide for what is called a *fair trial*. A fair trial is to prevent innocent persons from being deprived of their liberties or their property without due process of law. We sometimes criticize procedures for fair trial when the result is the acquittal of persons we believe to be guilty, but it is more important to acquit the innocent than to convict the guilty. It is better that an occasional criminal escape punishment than that an occasional innocent person be deprived of his freedom. Unjustifiable arrest and imprisonment are implements of tyranny.

Freedom of expression means not only a person's freedom to express what others like but his freedom to express what others dislike. Freedom results in the production of a great diversity of ideas in the sciences and the arts and in a variety of schemes and plans in the political, economic, and social fields. Only by having complete freedom to discuss existing institutions can those institutions be tested and appraised. "The best test of truth," said Mr. Justice Holmes, "is the power of the thought to get itself accepted in the competition of the market." Suppression prevents the use of this test of truth. Experience shows that we cannot judge the soundness of our fighting faiths by the fervency with which they are held. They must be subjected to the analysis and criticism of persons with other faiths. History reveals that the heresies of yesterday are frequently the beliefs of today. The heresies of today may become the truths of tomorrow. Democracy then must hazard its very life upon its ability to withstand criticism of itself. It must gamble its very existence upon its ability to survive the freedom to advocate its own downfall and the establishment of an alternative system. Except when there is a "clear and present danger" of violence, therefore, revolution may be advocated. This does not mean that democracy cannot defend itself. A government must have power to meet subversive action with counteraction. Hence, while revolution may be *advocated*, it may not be *activated*. While law should permit heresy, it should not permit conspiracy. In general the line should be drawn between *thought* and *expression* on the one side which the state must permit, and *action* or *organization* on the other which the state may prohibit.²

Unity

The second essential of democracy is *unity*. Civilized society is impossible without a high degree of solidarity. But with all the diversity that is produced by freedom of expression, how can there be that degree of solidarity which is essential, if people are to live together harmoniously in one society? How can we, upon the one hand, cultivate diversity and, upon the other, maintain unity? As to diversity in ideas the answer to this question is by tolerance. Tolerance is the reciprocal of freedom. If one person is to be free to express himself, then other persons must be tolerant of that expression. It cannot be assumed that the stamp of divine approval has been placed upon the customs, manners, or ideas of any one group of people more than upon any other. Hence, one group must tolerate the other even if the other be intolerant. As to conflicting desires, the answer to the question is mutual adjustment. Concession and accommodation to one another should be normal practice in a democratic society.

Decisions on our common course of action must be reached through the procedure of compromise. Governing in a democracy involves the continuous making of compromises. There is first an impact of many ideas upon a social problem, then a period of deliberation, conciliation, compromise and selection, and finally the emergence of a decision. A solution to a problem is a creative union of many ideas. Yet, not all ideas advanced will make an imprint upon the final solution. Many will be rejected. Others will be modified beyond recognition. This puts democracy into a seeming paradox. On the one hand, it must cultivate the production of many ideas. To make that possible is one of its functions. But, on the other hand, it must strike down most of those very ideas before they reach the stage of fruition—it must in fact, prevent them from becoming effective. Only one solution for each problem can be put into effect at one time. One of the hard facts of democracy is learning to accept adverse decisions. *Participation* in the plan by which decisions are made, not the *power to make the decisions*, is the right of individuals in a democracy. But is this asking too much? How could it be otherwise? Further-

more can any one person be certain that he knows the answer to any of our complex social or economic problems: the economic control of atomic power for example, or the equitable distribution of the national income, the conservation of our natural resources or the maintenance of peace? Can *a priori* reasoning solve these riddles? I submit that it cannot. Such problems can be solved only by trial and error, by experience, by using the combined wisdom of a great many people. The alternative is the dictation by the state of a preconceived and untested plan, and that would be totalitarianism.

A democratic society, then, is one in which reactionaries and radicals, conservatives and liberals, persons of all races and nationalities, and of all religions and faiths may live, work, and play, and be free to advocate their views, without incurring the risk of injurious discrimination or molestation because of their race, religion, political affiliation, nationality or of opinions expressed. But it is also a society in which no one of these groups has any inherent right of dominance over others or any claim that its particular views shall prevail, however fervently it may believe in their inevitability or righteousness.

Anarchy sacrifices unity in the interests of liberty. Totalitarianism sacrifices liberty in the interests of unity. Democracy maintains a just balance between the two.

The Political Party

We have many devices for promoting unity. A common language, culture and tradition serve this purpose. One of the most important forces for unity in government is the political party. The principal function of the political party is the compromising of differences. However, for any party to function democratically there should be more than one party. A one-party system fosters irresponsibility and dictatorship, as has been seen in Germany and Russia. But the existence of too many parties paralyzes government. It too frequently happens under a multi-party system that no one party can become strong enough to assume the responsibility of government, or to effectively sponsor a legislative program. No party can construct. Each party can only obstruct. The fact that Germany, during the pre-Hitlerian republican era, had so many parties

no doubt contributed to her downfall as a democracy. An obstacle to recovery in some of the democratic countries in Europe today, is that they are plagued by a multiplicity of parties.

Experience has shown that the two-major-party plan is the most effective for the purposes of democracy because it not only prevents the dictatorship of one party, but makes possible the resolution of many differences of opinion below the governmental level, so that a majority of the legislature can agree upon a course of action. Many conflicts are resolved in party councils, primaries, caucuses and conventions and are never presented for official consideration. The differences between the parties are then settled in legislative committees, or on the floor of the legislature. This system provides a majority party able to take over the responsibilities of government, and put through a legislative program; and an opposition party alert to point out defects, ready to expose corruption and dishonesty, and prepared to take over the functions of government whenever the majority party falls. A great advance for democracy was made when it was discovered that an opposition party should not be liquidated, but should be tolerated. Another gain was won when it was learned that an opposition party should be not merely tolerated, but maintained as an essential agency in the democratic system. It is significant that in Britain the party out of power is known as "Her Majesty's Loyal Opposition."

Probably the ideal system would be to have two major parties, one conservative and one liberal, but not too far apart in policy, and a third, radical party. The function of the radical party would be to prod the liberal party forward, the function of the conservative party to hold the liberal party back, and the function of the liberal party to bring about such reforms as it could under these uncomfortable circumstances.

Power

The third essential of democracy is the *power of the people* to determine their united destiny—the power to select their own governors, to choose their course of action as a nation. The most important technique for providing this power is a broad scaled popular exercise of the

ballot. By use of the ballot, the people put their principal officers into power and take them out again. But the ballot is not the only device the people use for exerting political power. They have the petition, which is recognized by the Constitution itself. The modern form of the petition is mainly the personal letter and telegram. People are repeatedly bombarding their Congressmen and other officers with telegrams and letters, expressing views upon public issues. It would hardly be denied that these have an important influence upon official action.

Then there is free speech, as a power. I have mentioned speech as a liberty. Speech is also a device by which the people are able to influence the action of their government. Speeches made to clubs, societies, conventions, organizations, or larger audiences over the radio or television exert an important influence upon public opinion and public opinion in turn helps to mold the policies of government. Then there is the press as a power. I have spoken of the press as a freedom, but it is also a channel through which the people communicate with their government.

These four powers—the ballot, petition, free speech, and free press—hold officers accountable, make government responsible. They also check one another. If one goes wrong, another brings correction. Sometimes an election is obtained by fraud. But the press will expose the corruption, and in due time the people will rectify the result. These powers are devices by which democracy can purify itself. Without violence or revolution, a new supply of men and of ideas can be thrown continuously to the top. By means of this procedure democracy can hold out the promise of the gradual and amicable eradication of many of the ills of mankind. These channels between people and government must be kept open. Close them, and tyranny is at hand.

On matters coming within the competence of government, decisions in a democracy are generally made by a majority vote. Majority rule is one of the attributes of democracy which distinguishes it from totalitarianism. But some matters are not within the competence of government. There are areas of human interest in which government lacks power to act. Fifty-one per cent of the people cannot, consistently

with democracy, make slaves of the other 49% of the people, nor infringe their right to worship, or speak, or write, or deny them their right to an education or their right to own property. That would be to invade individual liberty which, as much as majority rule, is one of the elements of democratic government. Neither tyranny of the majority nor tyranny of a minority is permitted in a democracy.

It is implicit in what has been said that a democratic society must have a legislature to make the laws, an executive to administer them and a judiciary to apply them in the settlement of disputes. It is essential too that the courts be independent of legislative and executive control, so that they may check excessive exercise of power by the legislature or the executive, and thus safeguard the basic rights of persons and unpopular minorities.

Responsibility in Industry

The fourth essential of democracy is the responsible utilization and distribution of the nation's resources in the interest of the general welfare. This responsibility in the United States rests primarily upon industrial and business managers, but also upon labor. Our economic system is essentially one of private enterprise. That is, services are supplied and goods are produced and distributed by private citizens and corporations rather than by government. This system powered with the initiative and energy supplied by competition, stimulates discovery and invention, and thus produces and supplies the goods and services that the people want. Yet in order to protect the members of the public against themselves it has been found desirable for the law to prohibit transactions involving fraud or overreaching, to curtail monopolies, to prescribe rates and conditions of service for public utilities and to enjoin unfair methods of competition. It has also become accepted policy for certain types of services to be performed by the government itself. Municipalities furnish fire protection, counties and cities provide schools, states maintain universities, asylums, parks and roads, and the federal government carries the mails, maintains conservation projects, and operates a social security program. While we have thus socialized some essential services, in the main we continue to have a system of

regulated private enterprise. It is our belief that while this system is not without flaws, it can be made to fulfill democracy's requirement that the nation's resources be administered for the general good.

Other democratic countries, such as Sweden, Great Britain and New Zealand, more socialistically minded than we, have added mining, banking, transportation, electric power transmission, medical and hospital care and other functions to the list of services governmentally operated or controlled. A third plan, having some of the characteristics of both socialism and private enterprise, is one by which groups of people set up democratically controlled cooperatives as agencies for producing and distributing goods and services. In Sweden and some other countries all three of these plans flourish simultaneously. Whether it is desirable for a nation to socialize some or all of its production and services depends upon the extent and variety of its natural resources, its capacity for mass production, its culture, traditions, commercial relations with other nations and the variety of the skills and aptitudes of its people. The best plan can be determined only upon the basis of experience. What may be most feasible for one nation may not be so for another.

It is not the purpose of this article to evaluate these various economic systems. Each has its advocates, and no doubt each has its merits. It is well to remember however that no plan is free of dangers. Each carries risks to individual liberty, socialism by requiring too much power in government, and private enterprise by encouraging too much power in the industrial or business corporation. But one of the many advantages of democracy is that it is not irrevocably committed to any one economic theory. It can change or modify its practices when the people so desire. Contrary to Communistic dogma, democracy's framework of freedom permits a wide choice in procedures for the performance of services and the production and distribution of goods.

A second aspect of industrial democracy has to do with the relationship between employers and employees in industry and business. Management and labor have responsibilities to each other as well as to the public. Of what use is political power to an employee whose employer

can exercise over him the authority of a tyrant? In our country the Wagner Labor Act is an attempt to solve the problem of democracy within the industrial unit by recognizing the right of labor to organize and the duty of the employer to bargain across the table with representatives of labor. By means of the collective bargaining contract, dealing with such matters as wages, hours, working conditions, grievances, seniority, promotions, arbitration, union security and pensions, employees have an opportunity not only to express themselves, but also to exert an important influence upon the policies of the industrial unit and to assume a share of responsibility for its success. *Collective bargaining* is at the heart of the democratic process in industry. Complementary to the Wagner Act, the Taft-Hartley law sets forth the duties owed by labor to management. Experience may show the need of adjustments in these laws in the interests of one side or the other. The purpose of the law should be to keep the two sides in balance and to delineate the sphere of action for each. Neither management nor labor should be permitted to dominate industry. Power must be fairly and responsibly shared between them.

Summary

Democracy, then, is not a *fait accompli*. It is not a status. It does not view as infallible or inevitable any specific solution for the ills of society. It provides only the framework within which the minds of men shall be always free to choose any course of action which their composite wisdom indicates. It is therefore a way of life—a method of change. It is that form of government which provides procedures for the maintenance of individual liberties; which attains unity through the techniques of tolerance, compromise, and mutual adjustment; in which the people control their government through the ballot, petition, free press, and free speech; in which power in industry is equitably shared between management and labor and in which both are held responsible to the public. This is the touchstone of democracy.

Totalitarianism, on the other hand, obsessed with the conception that it has discovered an infallible solution to the ills of society, must smash all opposition to its practices, liquidate

all deviationists from its doctrines, crush all spiritual aspirations of the peoples it subjugates, enslave its critics, extort false confessions, inculcate hatred, suppress expression and surround its helpless victims with an iron curtain. In order to maintain itself it must make men conform to its ideology at all costs. Persons who have been converted to Communism by the ethical appeal of its ends have closed their minds to the cruelty of its means. They have failed to realize that its methods have obliterated its objectives. The repeated reappearance of deviationism in Communist countries, despite purge after purge, is eloquent proof that the forceful maintenance of thought-conformity runs counter to the nature of man. Democracy and totalitarianism are irreconcilable.

How to Prevent Totalitarianism

The surest way to prevent totalitarianism is to demonstrate that the welfare of society can be advanced by the techniques of democracy. But since democracy is a method by which change is brought about gradually through adjustment, adaptation and education, it must be realized that this process is necessarily slow. As nature cannot grow an oak tree overnight, so democracy cannot bring about a flawless society overnight. But neither can Fascism or Communism, as has been demonstrated in Germany and Russia. A quick solution to a social problem frequently turns out to be a quack solution, which in the long run is no solution at all. What we want is a steady solid advance, in which method is as important as the end; and such an advance democracy can provide, as the history of the Anglo-American and Scandinavian peoples clearly shows. This course requires understanding, sacrifice and patience, but it still remains the last best hope of man on earth.

One of the obstacles to a steady progress in a democracy is that while we extol democracy's general principles, too often we condemn its unpleasant attributes and refuse to assume its burdens. We advocate tolerance, but refuse to uphold freedom of speech for those who advocate a doctrine we hate. We assert that a person is presumed innocent until proved guilty, but allow men to be condemned by an accusing finger. We favor the principle of a fair trial,

but complain of technicalities and slowness in the trials of persons we believe to be guilty. We believe in the spirituality and inherent dignity of man, but do nothing to prevent discrimination against men because of their nationality, color, or religion. We support parliamentarianism, but deprecate as wasted the time necessarily consumed in parliamentary investigation and debate. We subscribe to the principle of compromise, but denounce the making of concessions in order to reach important decisions. We realize that democratic government needs men who are able and virtuous, but too frequently condone incompetence or connive at dishonesty in public office. If we believe in democracy in general, should we not strive to strengthen its parts? If we desire democracy's benefits, should we not accept its disadvantages and assume its responsibilities?

Democracy is seriously threatened by Communism. How are we to defend it against this powerful and insidious competitor? Certainly not by using the methods of suppression, terrorism, violence or the substitution of suspicion and the inquisition for the fair trial. That would be to adopt one form of totalitarianism in order to combat another—to accept Fascism in order to escape Communism. Either victory or defeat in such a struggle would finish democracy. But government must have power to maintain itself. Treachery or conspiracy against it is not protected by the Bill of Rights. Hence *action* or *organizing for the advocacy of action* to undermine or overthrow the government may, consistently with democracy, be met by opposition and counteraction. In accordance with this principle the U. S. Supreme Court has held that participation in the activities of the Communist party may be forbidden and punished by legislative action. However, punishment for Communist activity, as important as it is, does not strike at the *cause* of Communism. The remedy must go deeper. Lincoln once said, "You can't shoot sense or religion into a man any more than you can beat daylight into the cellar with a club. Take a candle in and the thick darkness disappears." The citadel of the mind and heart can be won only by confronting bad ideas with good ideas, falsehood with truth, bigotry with tolerance,

arrogance with humility, hatred with love. The merits of democracy are such that human minds can be won to its support by persuasion, demonstration and example. We should, therefore, rededicate ourselves to those principles which secure "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness"; reaffirm our faith in the intellectual and spiritual power of free men to correct their own ills and direct their own destiny without tyranny; resolve to so exemplify democracy in our daily lives that its virtues

will inspire and persuade the hearts and minds of men everywhere.

¹ The term "totalitarian" or "totalitarianism" as used in this article refers to German Nazism, Italian Fascism and Russian Communism.

² A qualification of this rule is that the state may restrain or penalize expression which injures another's reputation, which is obscene or blasphemous, which is likely to create excitement that will cause injury (such as falsely shouting "fire" in a crowded theater) or as a result of which there is a "clear and present danger" of violence or other unlawful acts.

The Importance of Trieste

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Trieste has been a name to stir the emotions and command the loyalty of Italians ever since the little Kingdom of Piedmont first raised the flag of independence in the first half of the nineteenth century. Successive generations of Italians were brought up on the notion that Italian possession of Trieste marked the crowning achievement of the movement to rid their country of foreign domination, to "redeem the martyred city." But, as far as the Yugoslav claimants are concerned, historically the Serbs as well as the Yugoslavs have considered the Trieste question as a vehicle used by Italian leaders for their territorial pretensions in the Balkans.

That the Trieste question is not limited to the ambitions of Rome and Belgrade alone is shown by the fact that the Trieste territory—which includes the port city at the top of the Adriatic and the surrounding back-country—was supposed to have been placed under the aegis of the United Nations. However, no neutral governor was ever agreed upon. So the territory is still under military occupation, part of it (Zone A) by British and American troops, the other part (Zone B) by Yugoslav troops. Although Trieste is, even as the crow flies, pretty far from the territory controlled by Soviet Russia, the attitude of the Soviet Union to the Trieste problem has been that of direct concern as the place where East meets West in a no-man's-land atmosphere of uncer-

tainty and antagonism. In fact, the Free Territory of Trieste has been one of the oldest pawns in the cold war between Moscow and the Western Powers. As an example, the United States influenced the Italian elections of 1948 by announcing that it favored the return of the whole Free Territory to Italy. The Soviet government has repeatedly accused the Western Allies of taking advantage of "their unlawful occupation of the Free Territory to turn it into a military and naval base, one of the outposts of the system of strong-points they are creating in foreign territories for use against the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies."

Trieste's geographical position is very favorable to traffic in transit because, on the Suez route, it is between 2,000 and 3,000 nautical miles nearer to the Far East than are the northwestern European ports. The shortest route from Austria and South Germany to the Far East leads via Trieste.

The focal point of the boundary controversy is the city of Trieste, on the western shores of the Istrian peninsula, at the head of the Adriatic sea, although the disputed region embraces most of the territory between the pre- and post-World War I frontiers, which the Italians call Venezia-Giulia (Julian Venetia). Altogether the region has an area of approximately 3,500 square miles and a mixed population which is around 1,000,000 persons, of whom about

600,000 are South Slavs and 250,000 Italians according to Yugoslav estimates.¹

Trieste's historical evolution gives it geopolitical importance. Trieste was an old Roman colony in ancient Illyria with the strange original name of Tergeste, which was incorporated into the Frankish Empire by Charlemagne in 791. In 948 its independence was granted by Lothair II, and in 1202 it was captured by Venetians. In 1382, however, Trieste was placed under the protection of Leopold III of Austria, and in 1719 made a free port under Emperor Charles VI. Napoleon joined Trieste with Bonaparte's Kingdom of Italy in 1797, and in 1805 the city was again returned to Austria's "protection," and in 1813 it became an integral part of her dominions.

During the second half of the 19th century, Trieste was systematically developed by the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The new port, the actual freeport, was begun in 1867, and very soon became the most important port on the eastern Mediterranean, serving as the shortest route from Austria and South Germany to the Far East. But as the Swiss Trans-Alpine railroads and Fiume diverted a good deal of traffic from Trieste, there developed a very keen competition between Trieste and Genoa, the latter being the terminus of the Swiss Trans-Alpine railroads (while Fiume remained behind Trieste). In order to recover the importance of Trieste, the Austrian government, in the first decade of the 20th century, constructed the Tauern, Karawanken, and Wocheimer railroad leading via Trieste, Gorizia, Aasling, Villach, and Salzburg. It meant a shortcut in the traffic of Trieste with Austria and Bavaria. East of this railroad the Semmering railroad, constructed in 1854 as a direct connecting line between Vienna and Trieste, gained in importance owing to the rise of Trieste. By these two railroads the Viennese government was able to direct from the Elbe and Hamburg to Trieste not only the goods and passenger traffic of the Alpine countries, but, by means of low tariffs, the goods traffic of the Bohemian industrial region.

There was a double-track line to Vienna and eventually to Bohemia; a single-track line through the Julian Alps to the Slovene districts and Styria; a double-track line to Ljubljana which gave another route to Vienna and was

extended to Zagreb and so tapped Croatia and western Hungary. Thus, at the beginning of World War I, Trieste was the port of Austria, Hungary, Bavaria, Czechoslovakia, and of what is now northern Yugoslavia. Its trade range reached to Western Rumania and to the Ukraine, and Italy.

With the break-up of Austria-Hungary in 1918 came the difficulties about the ethnic characteristics of the region. Following World War I, Italy occupied by armed force large sections of Yugoslavia's territory and wanted to annex all these parts despite the fact that a great majority of Trieste's region is ethnically and linguistically South Slavic.

Trieste, as a port, was an "artificial" town, a creation of the railway age and of the needs of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. But Trieste started on its career of greatness as an Italian-speaking city, and remained predominantly so at the beginning of the 20th century. Italian was the language of administration and trade, especially the language of maritime trade. Every seaman spoke Italian as the mark of his profession. But the Austrian census of 1910 showed that 29 per cent of the population was Slovene. Grouping together all the Yugoslav territory acquired by Italy in 1920, and adding the 50,000 Slovenes already in Italy before 1914, there were altogether 538,331 Yugoslavs (Slovenes and Croats) and 354,000 Italians. A third of these Italians lived in the two towns of Trieste and Gorizia; the southern half of the Istrian peninsula was inhabited predominantly by Croats. Here, too, the Italians lived in the coastal towns, above all in Pola.

Between World War I and World War II Trieste's traffic declined greatly due to the policy of self-sufficiency of the Danubian countries. But its geopolitical importance, as a junction of sea lanes and land routes connecting Central Europe with the Levant and the Middle and Far East remained. Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary, all land-locked countries, found its harbor, with its 3 miles of deep-water wharfs, its modern facilities, and its efficient shipping lines, a most useful gateway for their overseas trade—even in the face of the keen competition of Hamburg and Bremen.²

When the Council of Foreign Ministers began their peace discussions in London in September,

1945, they found Trieste to be their most difficult problem. The western powers thought that they reached a neat solution in getting Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov to agree to the establishment of an ethnic line which would leave as few Italians on the Yugoslav side and as few Yugoslavs on the Italian side as this highly mixed racial zone of Europe permitted. To decide on an ethnic line a four-power commission was sent to Venezia Giulia. However, it immediately became obvious that the Soviets intended Yugoslavia (then in their graces) to have all of Venezia Giulia up to the Isonzo River, which Tito always claimed. From then on there was one compromise after another. In Moscow the Foreign Ministers agreed to internationalize Trieste and take it away from Italy; then they agreed (in Paris) to the so-called French Line, which gave three quarters of Venezia Giulia, including Pola, to Yugoslavia. Later they agreed to force Italy to maintain a neutral zone on the Yugoslav frontier, which left Italy completely defenseless, with the Yugoslavs dominating the Venetian plain from the Julian Alps. Up to the departure of Tito from the Cominform, the fight centered on the status of the free territory. The Western powers insisted that it be actually free and really international, while the Soviets backed the Yugoslavian proposals that would make the free territory in effect a part of Yugoslavia.

The final Italian peace treaty (in force on September 15, 1947) created the Free Territory, while the area to the east of the Free Territory boundary went to Yugoslavia. The appointment of a Governor for the Territory, under the Treaty, became a prerequisite for the end of occupation. The provisional regime is still in force today. The tiny territory is divided, for administrative purposes, into two Zones, "A" and "B," into which it was split as a result of the so-called Morgan Line agreed upon between the British and Yugoslav commanders, on June 21, 1945. The northern zone "A" includes the city of Trieste, and is under British-United States administration, while the southern "B" zone is under Yugoslav control. The Free Territory covers an estimated area of 276 square miles, has 80 miles of coastline, and 67 miles of land boundary; on December 1, 1946, the inhabitants numbered 262,514.

On March 20, 1948, the U. S. proposed, together with the British and French, that the entire Free Territory be returned to Italy—to help the Italians make up their minds in their elections. But the trouble continued. Despite Italy's partnership with England and the United States in the Atlantic Alliance, vehement anti-English and anti-American sentiment, as the co-occupiers of the formerly Italian Trieste Free Territory, has been carried on. So long as the Trieste situation continues, the Italian spokesmen pointed out, members of the Atlantic Alliance can never be expected to fight with full soul at the side of the Yugoslav troops who would flank them in a defense against an eastern European invader. Dr. Alcide de Gasperi, Premier of Italy, indicated in February, 1952, that his government would refuse to consider the inclusion of Yugoslavia in a regional defense system with Greece, Turkey, and Italy—as long as the Trieste question remained unsolved. The decision of the United States and British governments in March, 1952, to consider giving Italy a larger share of the responsibility for administering Zone A of the Free Territory was not received with as much favor by Italian public opinion as might have been expected, for the acceptance of the decision would also mean the acceptance of the present division of the Free Territory into two zones, of which Zone B is in Yugoslav hands. The fear is that tax arrangements might eventually supersede the declaration by the United States, Britain and France in 1948 which advocated the return to Italy of the entire territory.

At the same time, Tito reacted violently, and stirred up popular feeling on the one issue on which the Yugoslavs stand solidly behind him. Thus the London agreement of 1952 had political effects inside both countries disproportionate to the actual change in the situation. Direct negotiations between Rome and Belgrade were not advanced by this episode.

II

Obviously, it is just as easy to square the circle as it is to find a satisfactory solution of the problem of Trieste. That is why it has proven such a headache to the Big Four and such a potential danger to world peace. (The

French have a word, or rather a phrase, for the type of solution that applies to such cases. One must follow a *pis aller*, which is to say a course to be followed for want of a better solution.)

As the Soviet armies moved down toward the Balkans early in 1944 and Tito's forces moved north along the Adriatic coast it was evident that a major European conflict was shaping up. Trieste is the place where East and West meet on the Adriatic Sea.³ It is a gateway to the Balkans from the north and, above all, to Southeastern and South-Central Europe. Its hinterland stretches from Bavaria and Czechoslovakia to Upper Silesia and Western Galicia in Poland—one of the richest regions of Europe. In short, Trieste means far more to the world than it does either to Italy or Yugoslavia.

There is the power politics angle. When Tito was a member of the Cominform, Russia insisted that Yugoslavia annex the region, which would have been a Soviet window on the Adriatic—should Marshall Tito have remained subservient to Moscow. After his desertion from the Stalinist camp, in April, 1950, Moscow started the diplomatic offensive in the Adriatic by demanding that occupation troops be withdrawn from Trieste, and also that the "illegal Anglo-American naval base" at Trieste be eliminated. At the same time, the Kremlin was resourcefully using the Trieste impasse as a pretext for indefinitely barring the Austrian peace treaty. If the United States and Great Britain do not cease making an "aggressive base" out of Trieste it is impossible to discuss Austria, according to the Russians.

On June 16, 1950, the United States rejected emphatically Soviet charges that, with Britain and France, it had violated the Italian peace treaty in respect to Trieste. The State Department note characterized the Soviet charges as "obviously designed to sow confusion and impede such mutually satisfactory agreement and hence injure the cause of peace." (Similar notes were delivered to Britain and France.) It referred to the Soviet demand that the United States "liquidate the naval base and naval installations of any kind at Trieste." Answering the Soviet charge that the United States, France and Britain had hindered the

appointment of a governor for Trieste, the Department spokesman said that in January, 1947, before the Italian Treaty became effective, the question was raised with Soviet representatives by British and United States representatives. He recalled that during 1947 the United States pressed for an agreement on a governor and proposed a number of candidates, all rejected by the U.S.S.R. Referring to Soviet charges of "military maneuvers and other military measures" being carried out by the Western forces in Trieste, the note said that maintenance of small contingents there was under treaty obligations and to assist in administration. The only airfield in the zone consisted of a landing strip suited only for light liaison aircraft and was not in any sense a military air field. The Soviet note charged that the cost of maintaining the British and American occupying forces was being borne by the inhabitants of Trieste, that the communal Council bore the expense of police force upkeep. The Washington spokesman termed these charges "particularly surprising." The facts were that occupation expenses were being borne by the United States and British governments; the police force expense falls on the budget of the Allied Military Government.

But the geopolitical factors loom as the real backbone of all arguments going on about Trieste. Location has placed it at the crossroads of southern Europe and has made it a land of passage. Venezia Giulia, with Trieste as its hub, has been exposed to strong pressures from three directions: from the Germanic peoples of Central Europe pressing southward along the routes to the Adriatic; from the Italian people pressing eastward across the transverse route of the "Postumia Saddle" toward the Danubian basin; and more recently from the South Slavic peoples pressing westward toward the Adriatic. There are economic factors also: there is bauxite in eastern Istria; mercury in the Idria mines northeast of Gorizia; coal in the Arsa region; and some zinc, lead, and silica.⁴ There is considerable industrial activity in Trieste (Pola and Monfalcone). The countries of southern Europe have been forced to use Trieste quite extensively, as the political situation in Germany has deprived them of access to the great German harbors of the

North Sea, and of cheap inland waterways transport which used to be the chief competitor to Trieste's trade. Especially Austria's supplies (the E.R.P. goods) are shipped through here—petroleum, refined oil products, oil seeds, cotton, jute, rubber, tobacco, copper, hemp, rice, fruit, and vegetables; Austria exports through here paper and cardboard, timber and cellulose, iron and steel manufactures, magnesite, and fire-bricks. The U. S. uses Trieste for most of its supplies for its occupation forces in Austria.

Above all, the Western Allies cannot afford to have Trieste become a battleground between the Italians and Yugoslavs, since Trieste, poised at the head of the Adriatic Sea, is one of the most important military and economic bases of the Western world near the Iron Curtain. Thus, Trieste remains significant in

the strategy of "containing" Soviet and Communist expansion; in this contest, Italy and Yugoslavia have almost become secondary factors.⁵

¹ C. Grove Haines, "Trieste—A Storm Center of Europe," *Foreign Policy Reports*, XXII, 2 (April 1, 1946), pp. 14-24; Elizabeth Barker, *Truce in the Balkans* (London: Percival Marshall, 1948), chapter 12, "Trieste: West-East Frontier Post," pp. 208-240, and Chapter 13, "Portrait of Trieste," pp. 241-248; Joseph L. Kunz, "The Free Territory of Trieste," *The Western Political Quarterly*, I, 2 (June, 1948), pp. 99-112; Leopold C. Klausner, "Venezia-Giulia," *World Affairs Interpreter*, XVII, 3 (October, 1946), pp. 251-272.

² A. C. "Trieste, New Role in Europe," *The World Today*, V, 11 (November, 1949), pp. 471-477.

³ Joseph S. Roucek, "Geopolitics of the Adriatic," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, XI, 2 (January, 1952), pp. 171-178.

⁴ Leonard Unger, "The Economy of the Free Territory of Trieste," *The Geographical Review*, XXXVI, 4 (1947), pp. 583-608.

⁵ Rene Albrecht-Carrie, "Peace With Italy—an Appraisal," *Political Science Quarterly*, LX (December, 1947), p. 492.

The Teachers' Page

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From time to time we shall include in these pages material that may be of practical assistance to teachers of social studies. We will welcome suggestions and discussions on such material.

The teaching of government is one of the fundamental responsibilities of the social studies teacher. Below is a suggested approach to teaching a unit on our federal government.

OUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

I. Specific Objectives or Outcomes

- A. A knowledge of the historical origins of our national government
- B. An understanding of the organizations and operation of our national government, constitutional and extra-constitutional
- C. An understanding of the relationship of the national government to the state and local governments
- D. An understanding of the course responsible for the expanding powers and control of the national government over our economic life

- E. Appropriate attitudes and patterns of thinking and behavior necessary to the continuance of good government

II. Initiating the Unit

- A. Have students list what they like and dislike about the operation of our national government as a way of stimulating interest in the study of government. This initial listing may be used at the close of the study to evaluate the soundness of the student's criticisms.

The following chart may be helpful:

What Students Like and Dislike About the National Government

Branch of Government	Likes	Dislikes
Entire National Government	Ultimately subject to will of people Basically democratic	Too much taxes Bureaucracy Influenced by lobbies
Congress	Check on the president	Wastes time
President		
Supreme Court		

- B. Show the film "What Price Government." This film deals with the report of

the Hoover Commission on reorganization of the federal government. As an initiating activity, this film can be used to stimulate interest in the study of our national government.

III. Developing the Unit

Our National Government

A. Historical origin—Brief review

1. the Articles of Confederation
 - a. powers of government under Articles of Confederation
 - b. weakness of Articles of Confederation
2. the Constitutional Convention
 - a. reasons for the convening of the Convention
 - b. unifying forces
 - c. disintegrating forces
 - d. the New Jersey and Virginia plan
 - e. adoption of Constitution

Suggested Readings, Projects, and Activities

Readings: Standard American History Text

Words You Should Know: constitution, convention, federation, confederation

Projects and Activities

1. Show the following films: "Our National Government" (11 min.); "Servant of the People" (21 min.). Both films deal with the Constitutional Convention
2. Organize class into a Constitutional Convention and have members debate the different proposals at the Convention.
3. Write a report on one or more of the following:
 - a. Similarities and differences between the United Nations and the Articles of Confederation
 - b. A biographical sketch of the outstanding personalities of the Constitutional Convention.
- B. Constitutional Powers of the Federal Government
 1. Powers delegated to the national government
 2. Powers delegated to the state
 3. The Elastic Clause of the Constitution
 4. The Interstate Commerce Clause
 5. The Bill of Rights
 6. Amending the Constitution
- C. Organization of the Federal Government
 1. The three branches of government—checks and balances
 2. The Congress
 - a. powers and duties of House of Representatives
 - b. powers and duties of the Senate
 - c. qualifications for election of members
 3. The President
 - a. executive powers and duties
 - b. legislative powers and duties
 - c. qualifications

4. The Supreme Court

- a. judicial powers and duties
- b. watchdog over the Constitution

Suggested Readings, Projects, and Activities

Readings

1. United States Constitution
2. Texts on American Government
3. Congressional Record

Words You Should Know: elastic clause, quorum, lobbying, joint resolution, filibuster, joint hearings, executive, legislative, judicial, electoral votes, committee hearing, cloture rule

Projects and Activities

1. Show the following films: "Our Federal Government" (20 min.); "Inside the White House" (11 min.); "The Nation's Capital" (15 min.).
2. Write a report on one or more of the following topics:
 - a. Comparison of U. S. Government with that of England, France, or Russia
 - b. Controversies involving the Supreme Court and Presidents (Jackson, Lincoln, and Franklin D. Roosevelt)
3. Give a brief summary of the life of several outstanding Justices of the Supreme Court (John Jay, John Marshall, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Louis D. Brandeis, William H. Taft, Harlan F. Stone, etc.)
4. Draw a chart or diagram showing:
 - a. the process of how a bill becomes law
 - b. Amendments to the Constitution: date and no. — name, if any — provisions
5. Have a panel discussion on: "the president should be elected by popular vote."
6. Organize class into one of the Houses of Congress and go through procedure of passing a bill.
7. Have students bring in the names of the Senators and Representatives from their districts

D. Extra-Constitutional Aspects of Our National Government

1. The President's cabinet
 - a. historical origins
 - b. powers and duties of members
 - c. appointment and dismissal
 - d. comparison with European governments
2. Boards and Commissions
 - a. appointment and dismissal
 - b. kinds (Federal Trade Commission, Federal Communications Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, etc.)

Suggested Readings, Projects, and Activities

Readings: Texts on American Government

Words You Should Know: cabinet, coalition government, two-party system, prime minister

Projects and Activities

1. Write a brief sketch of the outstanding Secretaries of State
2. Make a chart comparing the responsibilities and duties of the cabinet of the U. S. with that of England
3. Write a brief report on the historical development, powers, and duties of the following Boards and Commissions: Interstate Commerce Commission, Federal Trade Commission, Federal Communications Commission, and the Railway Labor Board, etc.

3. Political Parties

- a. definition of
- b. historical backgrounds
- c. third party movements
- d. advantages of a two-party system
- e. comparison with European party system
- f. political parties and patronage

4. Political Parties and Elections

- a. organization of political parties—national, state, and local committees
- b. nomination of President
- c. primary elections
- d. general elections

Suggested Readings, Projects, and Activities

Readings

- 1. Standard American History text
- 2. Texts on American Government

Words You Should Know: political party, caucus, party whip, national convention, national committee, party platform, primary election, general election, ward leader, "dark horse," favorite son

Projects and Activities

- 1. Show film: "How We Elect Our Representatives" (10 min.)
- 2. Demonstrate operation of a voting machine
- 3. Write a report on one or more of the following:
 - a. political parties and civil service reform
 - b. the Populist party
 - c. the Farmer-Labor party
 - d. the one-party system
- 4. Dramatize a national convention nominating a President

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Pamphlets

Public Affairs Pamphlets

No. 7 *The Supreme Court and the Constitution*

No. 67 *Government Under Pressure*

No. 70 *What's Happening to Our Constitution*

Building America

Vol. II. *Our Constitution*

Vol. III. *Our Federal Government*

Vol. X. *Politics*

Oxford Book Company Pamphlets

Grass-Roots Politics, 1952.

Democracy, Capitalism and Their Competitors, 1950.

Filmstrips

Curriculum Films

Democracy at Work

Equality Before the Law

Taking Part in Government

Heritage Filmstrips

Passing A Bill in Congress

McGraw-Hill

President: Office and Powers

Federal Courts and Law Enforcement

Federal System—Part 1 (1950 Ed.)

Federal System—Part 2 (1950 Ed.)

Congress: Organization and Procedures (1950 Ed.)

Political Parties and Elections (1950 Ed.)

Foreign Relations (1950 Ed.)

Popular Science

Our Constitution

The Legislative Branch

The Executive Branch

The Judicial Branch

Our President

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mt. Vernon, New York

The 1953-54 catalog, U. S. Government Films for School and Industry, may be obtained free of charge from United World Films, Inc., 1445 Park Ave., New York 29, N. Y. It includes descriptions and prices of more than 2700 motion pictures and filmstrips produced for educational uses by various agencies of the federal government. Teachers who plan only to rent or borrow films from local sources will find this catalog a handy and compact inventory of the many useful audio-visual resources of the federal government.

Young America Films' 1953-54 catalogs of teaching films and filmstrips have just come off press and are now available for distribution. The catalog of Teaching Films is 24 pages in size, done in two attractive colors, and lists more than 145 educational motion pictures for school and community groups. The catalog of Filmstrips lists more than 440 new filmstrips for all grade levels and curriculum areas.

FILMS

Atomic Research: Areas and Development. 11¼ reels. Sound. B. & W. Sale or rental. Coronet Films, Coronet Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Film surveys three important areas of atomic research.

Student Government at Work. 1 reel. Sound. Color. B. & W. Sale. Coronet Films.

We see the ways in which an active student council plans and organizes activities for the students.

One Big Round World. 1 reel. Sound. Color. B. & W. Sale. Coronet Films.

The film develops basic geographic concepts using the interests and general knowledge of today's children.

World Balance of Power. 20 minutes. Rental. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Ill.

Graphically explains world balance of power which has been the cornerstone of national

independence and international peace in the modern world.

This Is The U.N. 10 minutes. United Nations Film Library, United Nations, New York, N. Y.

Shows the peace making achievements of the first seven years of the U.N.

Tony Learns About Fire. 18 min. Color. B. & W. Free loan. Bureau of Communications and Research, Society of Fire Underwriters, New York City, N. Y.

Depicts fire safety program adopted by school.

Story of Christopher Columbus. 17 min. B. & W. Color. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Ill.

Events prior to discovery; life of Columbus from boyhood.

This Is The Challenge. 10 min. United Nations. How the U.N. attacks underlying causes of disputes.

Design of American Public Education. 16 min. McGraw Hill Book Publ. Co., 330 W. 42nd St., New York, N. Y.

Tells of the structure of American public school system; its place in democratic society. *School and Community.* 14 min. B. & W. Color. McGraw Hill.

Shows cooperation between school and community.

In Black and White. 11 min. British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

Depicts the development of printing, British publishing traditions.

A Day of Thanksgiving. 13 minutes. Young America Films, 18 E. 41st St., New York, N. Y.

Johnson family recounts freedoms and privileges of American citizenship.

Expressways. Sale or Free loan. 17 min. Portland Cement Association, 33 W. Grand Ave., Chicago, Ill.

- How our highways are constructed.
Portrait of a City. 25 min. Free Loan. Ford Motor Co., Film Library, 3000 Schaefer Rd., Detroit, Mich.
 History and industrial development of Detroit.
The Look of Things. 19 min. Free loan. General Motors Corporation, Film Section, 3044 W. Grand Blvd., Detroit 2, Mich.
 Shows how better cars are designed.
Viva Mexico. 18 min. Long term lease, McGraw Hill Book Co., Text-Film Dept., 330 W. 42nd St., New York, N. Y.
 Depicts rich lands and resources, Mexico City, armed forces.
Adobe Village. 20 min. Sale. United World Film, 1445 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.
 Shows the maize culture of a Mexican village.
Modern Mexico. 11 min. Sale. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, Wilmette, Ill.
 A scenic trip through some modern sections of Mexico.
Trip Through Mexico. 30 min. Free loan. Gulf Oil Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.
 A motor trip travelogue.
Competition and Big Business. 20 min. Color. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films. Sale.
 Role of big business in terms of its technological progress.
Inflation. 17 min. Color. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.
 Causes, effects, and remedies.
Understanding the Dollar. 10 min. Color. B. & W. Sale or rental. Coronet Films, Inc., Coronet Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
 How the changing value of a dollar affects the lives of people with various sources of income.
English Farm Family. 13 min. Sale. McGraw Hill Publishing Co., 330 W. 42nd St., New York, N. Y.
 Revolution in agriculture in Britain as seen on a visit to a new farmer.
Centralization and Decentralization. 20 min. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.
 Advantages and disadvantages of each; need for preserving a balance between them.
Community Governments: How They Function. 14 min. Color. B. & W., Coronet Films, Coronet Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
 Advantages and disadvantages of the mayor-

council, city manager, and commission forms of government; and importance of participating citizenry.

FILMSTRIPS

Government in Action. Set of 8. Each about 55 frames. Color. Designed to explain clearly the organization and work of our national, state and local governments, and of the United Nations. The set costs \$43.20. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

President
Congress
Federal Courts
Executive Dept.
State Govt.
Local Govt.
Municipal Govt.
United Nations

U. S Citizen and His Governments. Set of 4 in color. Presents the nature and underlying principles of government in our local, state, and federal levels in simple, vivid, and concrete manner. Titles include:

Meeting the Basic Needs of Citizens (59 fr.)
Promoting Personal Welfare (64 fr.)
Securing the Blessings of Liberty (48 fr.)
 (Amer. Council of Educ., Washington, D. C.)

Land of Mexico. 70 frames. Sale. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

Depicts life, customs, industries of country.

Young Citizen Looks at Politics. Color. Popular Science Publishing Co. 353 4th Ave. New York, N. Y.

Nominations, balloting, franchise rights, privilege; mechanics of voting.

Mapstrips: Age of Discovery and Exploration. Set of 7 in color. Jam Handy Org. 2821 E. Grand St., Detroit 11, Mich.

The Crusades and Early Trade Routes (16 fr.)

Norsemen (16 fr.)

Portugal Seeks a New Route East (13 fr.)

New World Is Discovered (16 fr.)

Spanish Explorations (14 fr.)

French Explorations (15 fr.)

English and Dutch Explorations (14 fr.)

Life In Ancient Times. Set of 6 in Color. Curriculum Films Inc., 10 E. 40th St., New York, N. Y.

Depicts life and customs of ancient civilizations. They include:

An Egyptian Scribe
Babylonian Schoolboy
Athenian Family
Olympic Glory
Roman Family
Roman Centurion

Columbus Day. 30 frames. Color. Young America Films.

Biography of his life, and how honored.

Hallowe'en. 26 frames. Color. Young America Films.

Depicts origins and customs.

Toward European Unity. 56 frames. Office of Educational Activities, *The New York Times*, Times Sq., New York, N. Y.

Shows the steps that have been taken toward uniting Western Europe.

RECORDINGS

American History Series 1 is a set of two 12 inch, long playing records 33 1/3 r.p.m., consisting of eight separate historical productions each one averaging eight minutes in length. The price of the set is \$12.50.

1. *The Indentured Servant*—The plight of an indentured servant, his troubles with an Eng-

lish merchant sea captain and his successful attempt to gain freedom.

2. *Electing Jefferson, 1800*.—A campaign orator defends Jeffersonian ideas, while at the same time refuting Federalist hecklers.

3. *Louisiana Purchase*.—Robert Livingston and James Monroe fear the reaction of President Jefferson to the sudden offer by Napoleon of history's greatest bargain.

4. *The Monroe Doctrine*.—Internationalism versus isolationism in an 1823 setting. Heated discussion of these issues by two interested citizens and John Q. Adams.

5. *Freedom and Freedmen*.—A Northern and a Southern senator present the primary issue of the Fourteenth Amendment and Reconstruction following the Civil War.

6. *What Was The West?*—An old westerner and his city-bred grandson look anew into many aspects of our old west.

7. *Battle Over The Philippines*.—The great debate of 1900 over imperialism, presented as on-the-spot coverage in modern radio style.

8. *The League: Wilson vs. Lodge*.—The crucial problem, still debated, of whether the U. S. should have joined the League of Nations.

News and Comment

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Teachers' Mental Health

A teacher can consciously improve and maintain his own mental health, according to Dr. William C. Menninger, prominent psychiatrist. (*N.E.A. Journal*, Sept., 1953.)

The mature individual should recognize that mental health "depends not on being free of problems but on facing and solving them." Solutions to problems may be approached in one of three ways: changing oneself, changing one's environment, or changing both.

The most important factor in being happy and effective is the ability to get along with

people. An essential factor in maintaining mental health is getting satisfaction from life by being neither too dependent nor too aggressive, by exploring new ideas, by doing one's job better and by having fun in one's leisure time.

Dr. Menninger states that one is emotionally mature to the extent that he

finds "greater satisfaction in giving than in receiving;"

forms "satisfying and permanent loyalties in give-and-take relationships;"

uses his leisure creatively;

contributes "to the improvement of his

home, school, community, nation, and world;" learns "to profit from his mistakes and successes"; and

is "relatively free from fears, anxieties, and tensions."

If the next generation is to be more mature emotionally, teachers and parents must be more mature themselves.

Some Problems of Adolescents

The Citizens' Crime Committee of Boston has reported that there are in that city thirty or forty teen-age "gangs" which have been responsible for vandalism and great damage to persons and property.

To cope with serious teen-age delinquency, Northeastern University, Boston, Massachusetts, in the interests of public service is offering a course on Teen-Age "Gangism."

This course will be concerned with the causes and methods of prevention of juvenile delinquency, the development of "gangs," and the effectiveness of law enforcement agencies in dealing with this social phenomenon. The course is designed to be of practical value to civic leaders, the clergy, court officials, guidance officers, parents, police officials, welfare personnel, youth group workers, probation and parole officers, social workers and teachers.

Another approach to the problems of adolescents is made by Professor Dale B. Harris (Professor, Institute of Child Welfare, University of Minnesota, *The American Child*, May, 1953) who considers not only delinquents but all adolescents. In "Adolescents and Responsibility" he states that regardless of the philosophical basis of society, of the prevalent theory of child rearing or of education, or of the predominant culture values, adolescents show three universal characteristics:

(1) adolescence is a period of considerable energy manifestation; (2) a prominent feature of adolescence is sexual interest; and (3) there is the modification of the child's dependency status. While the last has been going on from the beginning of the child's life, during adolescence it is dramatized by the overt breaks with adult authority.

The individual develops responsibility toward others in terms of attitudes he accepts. Attitudes of responsibility are not developed as a result of conformity in behavior, standard-

ized in rules. Instead the child must be motivated and participate actively in order that he may develop responsibility.

Dr. Harris attempts to measure responsibility by means of an attitude test and an attitude scale.

From the application of these tests he concludes that children show a very slight increase in responsibility with age—much less than the relative magnitude of the gains in achievement skills or intelligence tests, which are registered over the same period of time.

Dr. Harris asks "Do tasks teach responsibility?" and answers, "Perhaps." He believes that the model set by the adult in terms of his own attitudes toward work and towards his own responsibilities may be more important than his giving specific work assignments to the child.

He believes that responsibility is more a matter of the general level of the child's psychological adjustment, which reflects in his functioning as he approaches his tasks.

"The happy child who has some assurance of acceptance by his parent or by his teacher proves to be responsible. He shows enthusiasm for his work, follow-through on his tasks. He 'conforms' to expected procedures because he feels a part of the group and wishes to make the values recognized by the group his own. The unhappy, maladjusted child, perhaps because of his preoccupation with his problems, or because of the generalized resistance he feels against people, has little inclination to follow through on his work tasks or to conform to expected procedures and standards. He is therefore identified as showing little responsibility. If being given a task brings with it a sense of recognition of worth which the unhappy child needs, possibly his performance will be improved. In many cases, however, the responsibility is one additional assignment to which he cannot marshal a concerted attack."

Dr. Harris also asks the question whether employment of the adolescent produces a sense of responsibility. He answers his own question by stating that there is little evidence that work of itself produces a sense of responsibility. However, he does believe that part-time work experiences of adolescents, guided by adults who themselves show a high sense of responsibility toward their tasks and toward their social relations, can have a very desirable effect on impressionable adolescents.

Recognizing that the adolescent uses persons other than his parents as models for his behavior, Dr. Harris says that we should not underestimate the significance of the role of adult example in shaping the attitudes of adolescents.

Employment

The *Occupational Outlook Summary*, published June 26, 1953, by the United States Department of Labor, shows a great need for all types of technicians who work with professional engineers and scientists. Draftsmen are needed in the aircraft and electronics industries. Electronic technicians, tool-and-dies designers, and design engineer draftsmen are so badly needed that they are included in the List of Critical Occupations which serves as a guide in the granting of occupational deferments.

Conservation

The Division of Information and Education of the Forest Service of the United States Department of Agriculture (Washington 25, D. C.) provides upon request single copies of recent conservation teaching aids.

Sample aids received by this commentator include an excellent chart showing how conservation can be integrated into the curriculum at elementary and at junior and senior high school levels; an interesting playlet on conservation; a description of "What the Forester Does for Wildlife," with an appended suggested list of activities and sources of information for the teacher; a high school conservation quiz; pamphlets on "How Man Starts New Forests" and on "Materials to Help Teach Forest Conservation"; and a list of *Forest Service Films*.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

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The American City. By Stuart Alfred Queen and David Bailey Carpenter. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1953. Pp. viii, 383. \$5.00.

This book, like its predecessor, *The City* (1939), by Stuart A. Queen and Lewis F. Thomas, ranks among the best college texts in urban sociology. The subject matter is given conventional treatment, the five sections of the book covering the significance of the city, its rise, ecology, institutional and functional activities, and social change.

The authors stress the decline of the rural-urban dichotomy and its replacement by a continuum of rural-urban characteristics. They analyze the changing pattern of metropolitan life both internally and regionally. They refer to a wide variety of cities in different parts of the country, though they lean heavily on data from St. Louis, with whose Washington University both are connected. They summarize and weave into the text material from an uncommonly large number of research studies,

thus making the book eminently useful both as a guide and a source.

The book is of convenient proportions—adequate as a text for a term course or as a reference, streamlined enough to permit additional assignments and special projects. The chapter bibliographies are selective, not extensive; there are no further teaching aids. Both research references and Census data are of recent vintage.

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Out of Step. By Joseph Trenaman. New York: The Philosophical Library, Inc., 1952. Pp. xx, 223. \$4.75.

This is a study of young delinquent soldiers in wartime. It is, therefore, most appropriately named. This tendency toward delinquency, of course, lessens the efficiency of the army and is one of the major problems confronting commanders.

While certain military offenses are not necessarily serious—such as coming to drill with a broken shoe lace,—others affect the well-being of the army. Desertion, for instance, cannot be considered lightly. Mr. Trenaman informs us that it costs seven pounds sterling to apprehend a deserter and return him to his place in the service. This is to say, on the average. Psychologically, the damage to the individual is considerable. He is shown up before his comrades as an offender and undergoes public humiliation. By the act of desertion in time of war, he is giving aid to the enemy. Bluff as he may, the deserter cannot shrug off the scorn which his comrades feel for him.

Nevertheless, when men begin to desert in considerable numbers, desertion begins to be looked upon more lightly, not because it does less harm, but because it tends to be the "mode." This was the case at the beginning of World War II when the hard-pressed British forces fell back across the Channel to their native shores. By 1941 the British authorities were becoming aware of the growing shortage of manpower, and the decision was made to try new methods of dealing with army delinquents.

On September 17, 1941, the first experimental unit was started. There were 60 staff members and 240 trainees. It was made clear to the men involved that they were not sent to the Special Training Unit for punishment, but for assistance. They were treated as friends and equals. (The author says that many of the army men were recruited from the "lowest social class.") An effort was made to discover the personal problems of the men. Questions were asked concerning hobbies, plans, ambitions, and preferences. The staff member kept constantly before the trainee the idea of the possibility of doing well.

After other special training units were in operation, it was discovered that inferiority in physique, illiteracy, etc., and size of family had played their part in shunting many trainees into the category under consideration. In general they were inferior in physical development, and excelled in no outdoor games. There was a marked tendency for the delinquent to come from a family larger than the average. This larger family was likely to be poverty-stricken, so each child in the family stood a

good chance of being under-fed and inadequately clothed. Illiteracy and near-illiteracy were likely to crop out under such adverse conditions. Over-crowded homes, as well as broken homes, seem to be responsible in many cases for delinquency.

At the special training units, good results were apparent from the use of the new methods. Those in charge of the trainees were well-nigh unanimous in the opinion that harsh punishments designed to break the will are not desirable. Such punishments are likely to wreck the personality, either hardening the offender or destroying what little self-confidence he possesses. The proper approach is evidently the psychological or psychiatric.

Generally, the delinquent really wishes to succeed, but everywhere failure confronts him. Therefore, his weaknesses should not only be discovered, but remedied. Of course, success is not possible in every case.

There is a Foreword by General Sir Ronald Adam and a Preface by Professor Sir Cyril Burt.

J. F. SANTEE

Oregon College of Education
Monmouth, Oregon

Readings in Sociology. College Outline Series, Alfred M. Lee, Editor. New York: Barnes and Noble, Inc. 1951. Pp. 1, 439. \$1.75.

Reading in Sociology is intended to provide supplementary reading to any standard introductory text in Sociology. The nine groups of papers "present statements by certain 'Old masters' on controversial aspects of sociological theory,—contrasting interpretations of fundamental issues as to the values which a scientist should seek to maintain and serve,—" or "deal with problems and techniques in the application of sociological knowledge."

The reader not already versed in the subject and its jargon will find much of this very difficult. Professor Lundberg's essay on "Science and Social Problems" does make the point that any real science develops its own terminology which laymen find hard to follow. Can an introductory student, hwoever, deal with such advanced terminology?

Some of the essays will be of more use to social studies teachers than others. This re-

viewer was particularly interested in Gesell's "Growth Potentials of the Human Infant," Waller's "The Separate Culture of the School," and Hart's "The Inter-Institutional Balance of Power in Windsor, Ontario."

Finally, an additional point in favour of this book is the care with which the editor has chosen the papers so as to present both sides of controversial issues. The result is an interesting but somewhat ponderous book.

WILFRED T. GRENFELL

St. James School
St. James, Maryland

The War of the Revolution, Christopher Ward, edited by John Richard Alden. New York: Macmillan, two volumes. \$15.00.

The late Christopher Ward published, about a decade ago, a fine study of the Delaware troops in Washington's army: *The Delaware Continentals*. Shortly before his death he had completed the task of expanding that work into a massive military history of the entire war. Professor Alden, a very competent scholar in the field of the Revolution, has prepared the manuscript for publication, has made minor changes and additions. The preface points out that this is not a history of the Revolution, but that its purpose is to "tell the story of the war on land, the campaigns, battles, sieges. . . . It is purely military in its intention and scope."

Within these self-imposed limitations, the author did a magnificent job. Here is the whole, thrilling story of that portion of the war, which brought us independence, that was fought on land. Every battle is described in detail—three chapters for the battle of Long Island, for example—and maps are used, in profusion, to illustrate the various campaigns and many of the individual battles. Leading officers, on both sides, emerge as full-dimensional individuals. This is fine, narrative history, based on careful research, thoroughly documented, and engagingly written.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

State University of New York
Cortland, New York

The Rise of Modern America, 1865-1951. By Arthur Meier Schlesinger, New York: The

Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. xvii, 607. \$5.25.

This textbook has been written for the second semester of the survey course in American History or for the elective course in Recent American History. It is the fourth edition of a work which first appeared in 1925. This revision has been largely rewritten even though the last previous revision had appeared as late as 1941. The author deliberately chose to retain 1865 as the starting date of his narrative for, in his opinion, "the transition to America's modern period came with the close of the Civil War, and the movements and problems that have arisen since then for an indispensable background for comprehending current situations at home and abroad."

This book is characterized by excellent balance in its treatment of political, economic, social and cultural developments. For instance, six of its twenty-three chapters are largely devoted to a discussion of topics in social and cultural history. In addition sections in the chapters which describe America's experience in World War I & II describe the impact of those wars upon our social institutions and pattern of life. In fact, no chapter is given over solely to a discussion of political developments. Indeed, at all times, the author has carefully delineated the interrelationship of economic and political forces. Emphasis is focused upon the recurrence of reform movements. The growing importance of foreign relations and war in the lives of Americans in these decades is reflected in the fact that nine of the twenty-three chapters are largely concerned with these two areas of history. As might be expected, the emphasis upon war and international relations is particularly heavy in the last five chapters which bring the narrative down to the summer of 1951.

In style, this book is characterized by terseness and incisiveness, and by an absence of allusions which might becloud the author's meaning to the college undergraduate. It possesses a plentiful supply of illustrations and maps. The illustrations which are drawn from contemporary newspapers and magazines might have been reproduced more effectively and vividly. This book has not been written to propogate a particular interpretation of recent American History. By all standards, it

should enjoy the considerable success of its predecessors.

MAHLON H. HELLERUH

Towson State Teachers College
Towson, Maryland

Some Modern Historians of Britain. Edited by Herman Ausbel, J. Bartlet Brebner, and E. M. Hunt. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. Pp. xxii, 384. \$5.00.

This series of essays in honor of Professor Robert L. Schuyler, of Columbia University, has been written by his former students. Like every *Festschrift* it has the defects of unevenness and arbitrary selectivity; but in spite of these faults it contributes largely to the understanding of recent British historiography. Some of the more famous historians, Green, Macaulay, and Maitland, have been omitted from this volume because Professor Schuyler has himself written biographical and analytical essays about them, which are to be published soon in book form. Among the twenty-two historians selected as subjects of these essays are the names of three Americans: two of them, Charles McLean Andrews and George Louis Beer, are historians of the Empire and especially of the American colonies; and one, George Burton Adams, is a constitutional historian. Professor Brebner's essay on Elie Halevy brilliantly delineates the life and writings of that incomparable French historian of early nineteenth century England. Of the nineteenth century English historians, the names of Carlyle, Lecky, Froude, and Gardiner should be known to every student of history as well as to students of English literature. Three living persons, Churchill, Tawney, and Namier have been treated in this series. The study of these and other twentieth century historians, such as, Sir William Holdsworth, Sir Charles Firth, and the late Eileen Power, should well illustrate the character of recent British historical scholarship.

RAYMOND G. COWHERD

Lehigh University
Bethlehem, Pennsylvania

Display for Learning. By Marporie East. Edited by Edgar Dale, Dryden Press, 3 W. 54th St., New York 19, N. Y. Pp. 306. \$3.00.

This book is an excellent work on the display possibilities in schools. It ranges from bulletin and chalk boards to exhibits, slides, and posters. The text is well illustrated, the demonstrations clearly depicted and the book is written simply yet cleverly.

In it you will find thorough discussions of why displays are used. In it, too, you will find helpful discussions concerning materials, media and tools. You will note that elements of design are applied to processes that you, yourself, will be able to utilize to your satisfaction. You will note that the projects that are illustrated will not discourage any one from trying them and completing them. The text is full of practical ideas and details, like folding big posters for storage, drawing expressive faces and figures the easy way, pictures that teach, making exhibits move.

The author has a fine section for further reading on the subject. There are some unimportant errata, the caption picture on p. 261 applies to p. 257, and the caption on p. 257 applies to p. 261. However, the book itself is an example of good display. It definitely applies the author's own criterion for appraising display. The book is highly recommended to all teachers.

Interstate Cooperation. A Study of the Interstate Compact. By Vincent V. Thursby. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1953. Pp. vii, 152. \$3.25.

In this volume the author has made a thorough and illuminating study of the interstate compact, one of the devices by which we resist the extremes of centralization while providing for the over-all coping with local problems cutting across the boundaries of two or more states.

Exploring Pennsylvania: Its Geography, History and Government. By Sylvester K. Stevens; Ralph W. Cordier; Florence O. Benjamin. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1953. Pp. xi, 624. \$3.84.

This is the latest and, beyond doubt, one of the better textbooks published to meet the needs of the ninth grade course in Civics and Pennsylvania History taught in the Pennsylvania junior high schools. It is the work of three

people, Drs. Stevens and Cordier and Miss Benjamin, who are well known in the various educational and historical organizations of the state and who have pooled their outstanding talents and rich experience to prepare this textbook.

Obviously, the authors and publishers have understood the necessity of "selling" their book to its student users. To this end they have made it attractive to the eye as well as filling it with various study aids which should encourage the average adolescent to use it both at home and in school. Indeed, it is most likely that many parents will want to page through and read in this book when they find it in their son's (or daughter's) study. Its visual attractiveness is epitomized in its cover for upon it has been superimposed an aerial photograph of one portion of Pennsylvania's beautiful countryside and another photograph of an interchange on the Pennsylvania Turnpike. The usual illustration is a half-page photograph comprising many views of the contemporary scene but also including photographs of historical interest. Fine examples of the latter type are two pages of photographs of the early oil industry of Pennsylvania. Nor have the maps been neglected. They are accurately and clearly drawn to teach some particular lesson. Certain of the maps should prove invaluable to students on the high school and college level as well as those in junior high school. One illustrates the location of Indian tribes in different periods prior to the Revolutionary War, another illuminates the geographical factors which were basic to the fighting of the old French and Indian War, a third pictures the geographical distribution of the popular vote in the election of delegates to the convention which ratified the federal constitution. On the other hand, long-popular paintings such as Rothermel's *Battle of Gettysburg* have also been used for illustrative purpose. Among the teacher aids found in the book are a list of audio-visual aids appropriate for use with each chapter and a list of distributors of audio-visual materials.

This textbook can readily serve a number of purposes, instructionally speaking. Twenty-one of its thirty-one chapters deal primarily with Pennsylvania History, four with government on the national, state and local level, three with community life, one with vocations, and one

with Pennsylvania's impact on world affairs. The geography of the state is described in a long, introductory chapter as the students take an airplane tour of the state. Here, then is material for the teacher who must plan units in vocational guidance and community civics as well as in Pennsylvania history.

Undoubtedly the basic purpose of the book is to serve classes in Pennsylvania History. To this end it surveys the broad movements in the history of the state. For instance, Chapter 15, "Government Becomes More Democratic," describes important developments of the Jacksonian period. The chapter introduction presents a general description of the nationwide movement toward greater social and political equality; the first section of the chapter describes the emergence of the nominating convention as a democratic political device; the second describes the amendment of the state constitution in 1838; the third traces the growth of the movement for free public schools; the fourth deals with various humanitarian movements active within the state such as women's rights, prison reform, and the cooperative Harmony Society; the fifth section discusses the appearance of a penny press in Pennsylvania. This concern with social and economic as well as political and military matters is typical of the entire volume. Moreover, the authors made much use of biographical sketches, and they have brought to general attention formerly obscure figures as Charles Hall, the discoverer of the process to manufacture aluminum; Jane Swisshelm, an early leader of the movement for women's rights; and Ferdinand Thun and Henry Janssen, manufacturers who made Reading the world center of the full-fashioned hosiery industry.

By every standard this book is a superlative accomplishment. It should win great popularity for itself, and remain in use for many years.

MAHLON H. HELLERICH

Towson State Teachers College
Towson, Maryland

HELPFUL CLASSROOM AIDS

GENERAL

Historic Calendar for December

Dec. 7 Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor—
1941

- Dec. 8 Congress declared War on Japan—1941
 Dec. 10 Human Rights Day
 Dec. 11 United States declared War against Germany and Italy—1941
 Dec. 12 Marconi sent first wireless across the Atlantic—1901
 Dec. 13 Pilgrims observed first Thanksgiving Day—1621
 Dec. 15 Bill of Rights Day
 Dec. 19 Paine's *Crisis* appeared—1776
 Dec. 24 Library of Congress and part of Capitol burned—1851
 Dec. 28 Birthday of Woodrow Wilson—1856

ARTICLES

- "Philadelphia and the Conservation of the National Heritage." By William E. Lingelbach. *Pennsylvania History*, Volume xx, Number 4, October, 1953.
 "Europe's Invisible Brick Wall." By Peter F. Drucker. *Harper's Magazine*, August, 1953.
 "What's Right with Our Schools." By Zelda Popkin. *Coronet*, October, 1953.
 "What is a Communist?" By Whittaker Chambers. *Look*, July 28, 1953.
 "The Spirit of St. Louis." A Condensation From the Book. By Charles A. Lindbergh. *Reader's Digest*, October, 1953.

PAMPHLETS

- A Program for Expanding Jobs and Production*. Chamber of Commerce of the United States. Washington 6, D. C. Price \$.50.
You Can Talk Better. By C. Van Riper. Science Research Associates Incorporated, 57 West Grand Avenue, Chicago 10, Ill. Price \$.50.
The Immigrant Takes His Stand. Published by the Norwegian-American Historical Association, Northfield, Minn. Price \$3.50.

CURRENT PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

- Living in Our America*. By I. James Quillen and Edward Krug. New York: Scott Foresman and Company, 1953. Pp. xxii, 752. \$3.00.
 Maps, pictures and graphs are outstanding.
Messenger by Night. By Mary Evans Andrews. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1953. Pp. xviii, 206. \$2.75.
 A story based on the history of the Island of Rhodes.
Democracy in the United States. By William

Ricker. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953. Pp. ix, 428. \$2.25.

Science and Human Behavior. By B. F. Skinner. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953. Pp. xxix, 461. \$4.00.

National Society for the Study of Education. *Fifty-second Yearbook*. Part II. The Community School. Edited by Nelson B. Henry. Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. xviii, 287. \$2.75.

Social Theorists. By Clement S. Mihanovich, Editor, Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1953. Pp. xvi, 521. \$6.50.

Government's Role in Economic Life. By George A. Steiner. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953. Pp. xiv, 439. \$6.00.

The Challenge of Democracy. By Theodore P. Blaich and Joseph C. Baumgartner. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1953. Pp. xxx, 752. \$3.88.

Third Edition and text has been revised and brought up to date.

An Introduction to the Administrative History of Mediaeval England. By S. B. Chrimes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1953. Pp. vi, 277. \$4.75.

A college text that is well written to cover this period of history in England.

British Government. By Hiram Miller Stout. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. xxiii, 433. \$5.00.

A college text which describes present day structures and practices of the British Government.

Wellsprings of Democracy. By John M. Brewer. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. xv, 232. \$4.50.

Out of Step. By Joseph Trenaman. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. xxii, 223. \$4.75.

The Treatment of the Young Delinquent. By J. Arthur Hoyles. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. xii, 273. \$4.75.

The Republic of the Schools; An Educational Program for Democracy. By Victor Jelenko. New York: Exposition Press Inc., 1952. Pp. xxv, 224. \$3.00.

The Radiant Universe. By George W. Hill. New York: Philosophical Library, 1952. Pp. xxiv, 489. \$4.75.

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